REPORT RESUMES

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THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY.

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A CONFERENCE WAS HELD IN AUGUST 1963 TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF JOINT SOCIAL INQUIRY BY THE THREE REPRESENTED DISCIPLINES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, SOCIOLOGY, AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION. THIS BOOK CONTAINS THE PROCEEDINGS AND RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE. DISCUSSIONS WERE CENTERED ABOUT FOUR MAJOR SUBJECTS--(1) MAIN TRENDS IN COMMUNITY POWER RELATIONS WERE REPORTED AS THEY HAVE BEEN PERFORMED BY ACADEMICIANS AND PROFESSIONAL ADMINISTRATORS IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE PAST 15 YEARS, (2) WAYS ARE SUGGESTED IN WHICH CURRENT RESEARCH CAN BE MODIFIED TO MAXIMIZE ITS UTILITY TO PROFESSIONAL EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS, (3) GUIDELINES WERE DETERMINED FOR THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH IN COMMUNITY POLITICS AND EDUCATION, AND (4) WAYS ARE DISCUSSED IN WHICH THE THEORIST-RESEARCHER'S POLITICAL AND SOCIAL VALUES HELP TO SHAPE HIS CONCEPTS, THEORIES, OBSERVATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS. (LP)

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THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

in the Local Community

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THE POLITICS OF

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EDUCATION

in the Local Community

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Preface

For three full weeks during the month of August, 1963, a dozen scholars from nearly as many different parts of the United States and Canada huddled around a conference table in the lounge of an unoccupied dormitory at the University of Oregon. There, they occupied themselves chiefly with intense conversations about the possibility of forming continuing partnerships to carry on a particular kind of social inquiry in which they believed they had common, or at least complementary, stakes.

The conferees represented three academic disciplines: political science, sociology, and educational administration. Although representatives of these and other disciplines had met on previous occasions to discuss problems of mutual concern,[1] the Oregon conference represented the first opportunity for scholars from various fields to give serious consideration to possibilities for structuring interdisciplinary partnerships in the developing field of "community politics." In this sense, the research seminar on "Processes of Community Decision-Making and Change and Their Influence on Education" was an unusual meeting.

The seminar participants shared at least four ideas in common. First, they believed that the character of a community's educational institutions and policies was somehow inextricably dependent upon the character of the community's political life. Second, they had more or less independently arrived at the conclusion that little was known about interrelationships between community politics and community education. Third, they believed that important values would be served by further development of such knowledge. Finally, they suspected that there was a reasonably good chance that their respective academic specialties, each with its own distinctive focus, experience, and skill, could be blended together in a long-term collaborative enterprise to generate the kind of knowledge needed. With these shared ideas serving as a mental backdrop, the seminar participants settled down to serious consideration of an important and broad field of study.

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[1] See, for example, Lawrence Downey and Frederick Enns (eds.), *The Social Sciences and Educational Administration* (Edmonton: The Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1963); Jack Culbertson and Stephen Hencley (eds.), *Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives* (Columbus, Ohio: The University Council for Educational Administration, 1962); Andrew W. Halpin (ed.), *Administrative Theory in Education* (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958); Jack Culbertson and Stephen Hencley (eds.), *Educational Research: New Perspectives* (Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers & Publishers, Inc., 1963).

During the seminar, the conferees were in active daily confrontation with one another—often from early morning until late evening. When the entire group was not in session, smaller groups splintered off to more private places to ponder problems left unmentioned or underspecified in the larger meeting. Discussion groups, large and small, ran the gamut between extremes of intimacy and impersonality, informality and formality, harmony and conflict, purposiveness and aimlessness. There were many moments of keen excitement characterized by a collective sense of being on the brink of creative accomplishment. There were also occasions marked by frustration and a sense of futility.

In the final days of the seminar, the following question was broached: Should the efforts of the conferees be communicated to a wider audience, i.e., to general students and practitioners of educational administration and/or community politics? It was agreed that such an attempt should be made—partly on the assumption that the experience of the conferees would be of value to others and partly in the hope that members of a broader audience might be motivated to explore possibilities for further interdisciplinary partnerships. Hence, this book.

The book seeks to accomplish four main tasks. First, it presents key materials which served the conferees as focal points for discussion. Second, it seeks to analyze the main themes of the conference, with a view to identifying lines of convergence, complementarity, and divergence. Third, it offers tentative definition of the scope of "community politics and education" as a field of inquiry. Finally, the book offers preliminary suggestions concerning possible directions to be taken in developing this field and seeks to identify problems—intellectual and organizational—which might beset its development in any direction whatever. Taken collectively, the eleven chapters either explicitly or implicitly contain virtually every important theme which received attention during the course of the three-week session.

The editors welcome the opportunity to describe an initial attempt at collaborative exploration of a deserving, though underexplored, field of study. It is their hope that this work, in both its promising and problematical aspects, will serve as inspiration to others concerned with understanding the politics of education in local communities.

R. S. C.
S. P. H.

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The editors wish to acknowledge the helpful cooperation of the various professors, institutions, and agencies whose assistance made this publication possible. First, special thanks are due The University Council for Educational Administration. Its sponsorship of a Task Force on "The School as a Political Institution" led to preliminary identification of significant problem areas requiring the attention of scholars engaged in the analysis of community decision-making. Members of UCEA's central staff also assisted with (1) preparation of the original proposal to bring together political scientists, sociologists, and professors of educational administration in a three-week seminar and (2) initial identification of seminar participants.

The assistance of Professor Robert E. Agger, University of Oregon, in making all local arrangements for the conduct of the seminar deserves special recognition. The University of Oregon provided outstanding conference facilities for a three-week period.

We are also deeply grateful to the Cooperative Research Branch, U.S. Office of Education for the financial support which made the seminar (and this publication) possible.

Generous recognition is due the consultants who joined with the seminar participants in coming to grips with both conceptual and methodological problems underlying community studies. Consultants to the seminar included Daniel Goldrich and Roland J. Pellegrin, University of Oregon; Robert Presthus, Cornell University; and Daniel C. Thompson, Howard University. Special mention should also be made of several individuals who participated actively in various phases of the seminar activities: Glenn Immegart, UCEA; Paul Jacobson and Dick Carlson, University of Oregon; and Alice Scates, U.S. Office of Education.

Finally, appreciation is expressed to the individual authors whose papers laid the foundation not only for a significant portion of the seminar discussions but also for this volume.

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SECTION ONE

Problems

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Introduction to Section One

The three chapters in this section serve to define the scope of the study of politics and education in the local community.

In Chapter 1, Hencley reviews and anlyses the main trends in the tradition of inquiry into community power relations which have taken shape during the past decade-and-a-half in the United States. He shows how the study of community power drew some of its initial impetus from civic-minded professional administrators who were concerned with the improvement of public services in American communities but who were all too often blocked in their attempts at reform by systems of community power which seemed to differ markedly from text-book images of local government. Academic social scientists, already interested in the general problem of local government and politics but unsatisfied with their own formalistic traditions of inquiry in this field, were quick to respond to stimulation by the professionals. Together, these two groups have generated a body of theory and research in community power relations whose major components Hencley analyses in substantial detail.

In Chapter 2, Cunningham explores the prospects for profitable exploitation of community power research by both students and practitioners of educational administration. He fully acknowledges the value of existing research in community power. Yet his primary purpose is to suggest ways in which such research needs to be modified if its utility to professional educational administrators is to be maximized. He supports his suggestions (1) by highlighting the more salient kinds of practical political problems confronting educational administrators as they attempt to carry out their responsibilities in the local community and (2) by indicating some of the distinctive characteristics of the educational arena in American communities which call for special attention in the design of research.

Finally, in Chapter 3, Cahill analyses the activities of the seminar from which the present volume derives. In that seminar, two kinds of scholars (students of educational administration and academic social scientists) came together to define problems and explore strategies for research and theory-building. Both groups were concerned with the problem of community power, but each was distinctive in its special interests, experiences, and skills. During the seminar several key themes (representing lines of convergence as well as divergence) were developed. Cahill analyses these themes and explores their implications for the future of theory and research in the politics of education in the local community.

Chapter 1

THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY POLITICS AND POWER

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For more than a decade, spirited controversy has characterized the work of researchers engaged in the analysis of political and power systems operating in American communities. Two major schools of thought have emerged during this time: (1) the reputational school, based primarily on sociology, and (2) the pluralist school, structured largely upon political science. Studies of community power based on these schools have revealed marked differences, not only in terms of conceptual and theoretical underpinnings, but also in terms of favored research strategies and methodologies.

Characteristically, such differences have been welcomed in academic circles. Divergences in thought and theory have often launched new scholarly movements that have culminated in fertile additions to, or refinements of, accepted bodies of knowledge. Seldom, however, have differences of this kind been elevated to the point (1) where they have become ideological in nature (as in the case of recent attacks and counter-attacks among proponents of the aforementioned schools) or (2) where the defense of a particular point of view appeared fully as important as scholarship and the pursuit of new knowledge. Yet, in the eyes of some observers, this is precisely what has happened during the continuing debates between adherents of the reputational and pluralist schools. Anton has observed that "the point has now been reached where studies are no longer undertaken to 'discover' and 'understand' the nature of political systems; they are undertaken to 'disprove' another man's theories, not in a scientific sense, but in an ideological and political sense."[1]

Whether a *rapprochement* between the two schools is possible at this point must necessarily be considered in light of the major disagreements that have precipitated controversy. The central concern of both schools—to gain increased understanding of processes and patterns of political decision-making—is, however, of primary concern to every person interested in civic development who has felt a sense of impotence in dealing with formally organized systems of government. As the frustration of an increasingly complex society leads more citizens to express hostilities and aggressions toward many important community functions, the need to understand more about the political systems of local communities assumes vital importance.

THE REPUTATIONAL SCHOOL

Floyd Hunter's study of community power structure, using reputational techniques,[2] serves as the landmark for the study of community political decision-making. He was not the first to probe beyond the formal organization of a community's governmental structure. However, this work serves as the best dividing line between two types of studies: (1) contemporary investigations based on a concern for power systems which are invisible to those who focus their attention only on formal institutions and agencies of local government and (2) the traditional investigation of the type which Plato and Aristotle initiated in their examination of the public rules and behavior of the ancient Greek city-state. It is not accidental that Hunter's work was initiated shortly after the close of the Second World War. During the prior fifteen-year period vast amounts of money were spent on public works by the agencies of government. Before the war, especially during the great depression, the great civilian public works projects were financed and controlled by the federal government through the PWA, the WPA, and CCC, and a host of other alphabetic agencies. Schools, libraries, post offices, museums, and a wide range of public edifices were constructed, primarily to give employment to the depressed, but also to fill the very real need for a physical plant which had been ignored by public agencies during halcyon days of the twenties.

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[1] Thomas J. Anton, "Rejoinder," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, VIII (September, 1963), p. 268. *See also* Thomas J. Anton, "Power, Pluralism, and Local Politics," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, VII (March, 1963), pp. 425-457; Robert A. Dahl, "Letter to the Editor," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, VIII (September, 1963), pp. 250-256.

[2] Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

But as the war period brought full employment, it carried in its wake a lessening of some of the public pressure which had produced so many imposing public works. In the post-war period, people insisted that their communities have the physical plant to provide for the welfare of their citizens by building parks, libraries, schools, hospitals, sanitation systems, and the many other tangible and costly bases of locally engendered civic welfare programs. They were forced to realize that they were still very dependent upon their immediate community, that the federal government had entered into a period of retrenchment, and that foreign economic aid and rearmament spending had brought about an inevitable reduction in the resources available for programs of improved domestic welfare. The thirties and early forties had seen the development of cooperative and collaborative federal-state programs of development in such areas as highways and hospitals and housing, but by the end of World War II it had become evident to many that the local community need was greater than the earlier expansion in the scope of national government would allow.

As "big government" continued its development in the thirties and forties, the role of administrators and experts continued to assume increasing importance, not only in administrative decision-making, but in political decision-making as well. The good community was being increasingly envisaged as one wherein experts in various aspects of public health, welfare, and education would have a larger domain in which to pursue the best "principles" of public administration at all levels of the community–federal, state, and local. Moreover, professionalization was proceeding with leaps and bounds so that relatively new professional groups were assuming positions of importance in community life (e.g., city managers and city planners). Traditional groups (e.g., school teachers and administrators) were also self-consciously developing a professional perspective and organization. The so-called administrative state was seen by a number of observers as having arrived and by others as rapidly arriving.[3]

It was in this context that in the late forties and early fifties professionals and political analysts began to be disturbed by the discrepancies between what they were observing in the development of programs (or in attempts to develop programs) of civic improvement and what they conceived as the new political influence of experts in civic improvement. Hunter himself was originally a social worker. Later, as a sociologist, he began to analyse and interpret what he had observed in his former role. He found major discrepancies between the model of a productive community political decision-making system, responsive to and leading the community to a better life, and the sometimes frustrated set of professionals in the on-going life of a large city in the Southeast. As a result, he joined other analysts of community life and practitioners in asking who really runs our cities. This question apparently was not motivated (as in the case of Lincoln Steffens and the muckrakers of the first decade of this century) by a middle-class feeling of guilt over civic corruption and lower-class oppression but by a very insistently felt need to provide necessary public services at a level consistent with the private benefits supplied by an affluent society.

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[3] The writer does not wish to imply that the development of principles of public administration and theories of the administrative state was occasioned by the development of big government in the 1930's and 1940's. Many public administration doctrines go back further in time to the so-called reform movement that swept the country roughly between 1890 and 1920.

Hunter merely put into print the question that disturbed many community professionals in all fields of service. If they were to be effective representatives of the needs of the community in their areas of specialization, could they confine their activities exclusively to government employees on the one hand and the voters on the other? Years of experience as a social worker, capped by rigorous studies as a social scientist, left no doubt in Hunter's mind. If a community were to move forward, it could do so only if progress had on its side the men who controlled the means—the goods and services—by which progress could be implemented into concrete programs. Other social scientists who followed Hunter's lead called these crucial individuals the "economic dominants" and, like Hunter, stressed that the role of economic dominants in community decision-making depended upon the type of issue at stake. When it came to the big issues of urban development, level of taxation, public housing, major innovations in education, or any other such policy area which would affect the significant life chances of great numbers of a community's population, little could be initiated, let alone completed, without the approval and guidance of these economic dominants whose influence was felt in every area of civic life. Lesser issues, such as the specific location of a hospital, were sometimes left to the professionals and the experts. If these lesser issues infringed upon larger problems, such as race relations, the civic professionals were again limited in their freedom of decision-making action.

Hunter's Theoretical Position

The bases for Hunter's findings (i.e., that Regional City was controlled by a monolithic power structure, and that community power was centralized in, and exercised by, a small and atypical proportion of the citizenry) appear to be grounded in a number of theoretical propositions and hypotheses enunciated in the introduction to *Community Power Structure*. The influence of sociological theories of stratification and of the concept of the community as a social system is evident throughout the propositions and hypotheses advanced.

To Hunter, *power* was "an abstract term denoting a structural description of social processes,"[4] in relation to "the ability of men to command the services of other men."[5] Power, moreover, was definable structurally because individual power "must be structured into associational, clique, or institutional patterns to be effective"[6] and "power involves relationships between individuals and groups, both controlled and controlling."[7] Additional propositions and corollaries advanced by Hunter held (1) that power is a relatively "constant factor in social relationships with policies as variables," (2) that "wealth, social status, and prestige are factors in the 'power constant,'" (3) that "variation in the strength between power units, or a shift in policy within one of these units, affects the whole power structure."[8] To these propositions and corollaries, Hunter added three hypotheses. The exercise of power, he stated, was not only (1) "a necessary function in social relationships" but was (2) "limited and directed by the formulation and extension of social policy within a framework of socially sanctioned authority." Finally, Hunter hypothesized that (3) "a smaller number of individuals will be found formulating and extending policy than those exercising power."[9]

With these propositions and hypotheses serving as a "mental backdrop," it is clear that Hunter viewed the community as a system of action (i.e., a social system) in which the roles were ***structured, interdependent,*** and ***unequal in power.*** To get at the question of who exercised community power, it became necessary to identify those roles that were both salient and centrally involved in determining community policies. Hunter's methodology for identifying the salient roles—the so-called reputational technique—made extensive use of panel techniques: nominations of reputedly powerful community figures were obtained from individuals who were at the centers of communications and organizational life in Regional City.[10]

Hunter's findings on the basis of his study of Regional City indicated that a relatively few people made all of the crucial decisions in this city, i.e., that a monolithic power structure was in control of political decision-making processes. "It became evident," Hunter stated, "that certain men, even within the relatively narrow range of decision leaders with whom I was dealing, represented a top layer of personnel,"[11] and "the 'little fellows' are continually moved to perform their proper tasks by those above them."[12] Moreover, Hunter observed a close working relationship between politics and business:

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[4] Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 262-271.

> In the normal course of events the actions of the private citizen, at least on a policy-making level of power, are almost indistinguishable from those of formally designated officials. The dual relationship between government and economic operations tends to blur into one process.[13]

Other studies have tended to buttress Hunter's findings. Schulze and Blumberg,[14] for example, found that in one small city the reputational technique for identifying the powerful decision-makers produced substantially the same list of nominees regardless of who did the nominating. D'Antonio, Form, Miller and others[15] have also used reputational measures of power (which deviate little from Hunter's original techniques) for comparative studies of several communities. Moreover, the proposition advanced by Mills, that a powerful ruling elite exercises substantial control of the political system at the national level,[16] appears to parallel Hunter's description of controlled political processes at the community level in Regional City.

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[14] Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (November, 1957), pp. 290-296; Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (February, 1958), pp. 3-9; Leonard U. Blumberg, "Community Leaders: The Social Bases and Social-Psychological Concomitants of Community Power" (Microfilmed Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1955).

[15] William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influentials in Two Border Cities," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 804-814; Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (February, 1958), pp. 9-15; William V. D'Antonio, *et al.*, "Institutional and Occupational Representations in Eleven Community Influence Systems," *American Sociological Review*, XXVI (June, 1961), pp. 440-446; Orrin E. Klapp and Vincent L. Padgett, "Power Structure and Decision-Making in a Mexican Border City," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV, (January, 1960), pp. 400-406.

SOME SALIENT ISSUES

Hunter's handbook for progressive-minded civic professionals has been questioned by other social scientists on several accounts. Such political scientists as Kaufman and Jones[17] believed that the role of government officials had been seriously underestimated in such analyses as Hunter's in Regional City. Professional students of public administration sought to point out that the innovating ideas must come from imaginative experts and not from power-oriented economic dominants who are dependent upon the professional substructure to suggest alternatives for action. The man of power could still pick and choose, but the range of alternatives from which he could select was profoundly shaped by the ideas proposed by the professionals. Shaping the developing debate over the character of community political systems was the fact that some of those whose commitment to the democratic ideal had been enhanced by the cold war found it difficult to believe that any one group, economic dominants or whoever, could hold sway over so wide a range of human activity within democratic community politics. Others were disturbed by the pessimistic implications about democracy which a reading of Hunter presented.

Criticism of Hunter's work proceeded on several fronts. Social scientists of the pluralist school questioned (1) whether monolithic power structures could be defended as accurate representations of community political systems in American cities, (2) whether reputational techniques resulted in accurate assessments of power distributions in communities, and (3) whether unity in both the values and the economic and social backgrounds of top leaders really existed.

Monolithism Versus Pluralism

Rossi[18] questioned Hunter's assumption that American communities have monolithic political systems, i.e., that power is centralized in the hands of a relatively small and atypical proportion of the citizenry. Granted the top leaders may come from similar social and economic backgrounds in society, it remains possible that they represent divergent ideologies and that "it is precisely to these deviants on the upper occupational levels that the popular support of the lower strata of the community may be attracted." In other words, a group that may seem to have an identity of interest opposed to other group interests may in reality be divided enough in values, although from a similar class background, for some of their members to represent interests of groups or classes other than their own. Thus the picture of a monolithic power structure might be misleading.

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[16] C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

[17] Herbert Kaufman and Victor Jones, "The Mystery of Power," *Public Administration Review*, XIV (Summer, 1954), pp. 205-212.

[18] Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision-Making," in Roland Young (ed.), *Approaches to the Study of Politics* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1958), pp. 363-382.

Similarly, Sayre and Kaufman,[19] in their study of New York City, saw not only a pluralistic society but a polity wherein elected government officials and appointed administrators were a relatively independent, autonomous group in political decision-making in the city. Their conclusion, that "no single ruling elite dominates the political and governmental system of New York City," would appear to be diametrically opposed to the hierarchical, political elite systems described by Hunter and others.

Other community analysts have also voiced objections in relation to Hunter's position. In criticizing the work of the reputational school, Dahl[20] appeared convinced that what Hunter had identified in Regional City was not a ruling elite system but rather a group that possessed *high potential* for control. His own study of New Haven had indicated to Dahl "that the small group that runs urban redevelopment is not the same as the small group that runs public education, and neither is quite the same as the two small groups that run the two parties."[21] How anyone could have signified the dominance of a power elite in a community "without basing his analysis on the careful examination of a series of concrete decisions"[22] was, to Dahl, a mystery. Moreover, as Polsby pointed out in a later article,

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[19] Wallace Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, *Governing New York City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960).

[20] Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," *American Political Science Review*, LII (June, 1958), pp. 463-469.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 466.

[22] *Ibid.*

"most of the reputational researchers, by their failure to specify scopes in soliciting reputations for influence, assume that the power of their leader-nominees is equal for all issues."[23] To pluralists, this assumption is of dubious validity, for "it is improbable . . . that the same people who decide which houses of prostitution are to be protected . . . also plan the public school curriculum."[24]

In summary, pluralists questioned Hunter's picture of monolithic control in Regional City because (1) he had confused potential power with actual power, (2) he had failed to examine the role of economic dominants in the actual resolution of community issues, and (3) he had assumed that the crucial decision-makers remained the same from issue-area to issue-area.

The Reputational Technique

How is it possible to explain findings by political analysts which show American community politics as monolithic and run by economically dominant elites and, at the same time, as pluralistic and run by several political groups with governmental officials being at least one of the important sectors of the governing leadership? One valid explanation may be that investigators have chosen to study different communities: their descriptions of the functioning of community politics in different situations may, in fact, be accurate. Until comparative studies are the rule (rather than the exception), it would appear unwise to discount this possibility.

A second common explanation, however, attributes the discrepancy to a bias of Hunter's methodology, particularly the so-called reputational technique. Hunter assumed that a relatively few people made all of the crucial decisions; then he set out to identify the responsible individuals by asking for a limited number of nominations from people at the centers of communications and organizational life in the community. Although Schulze and Blumberg found that this technique produced substantially the same list of nominees regardless of who did the nominating, pluralists have pointed out that the reputational method had some elements of a self-confirming prophecy. The validity of the method, i.e., the extent to which the reputedly powerful (however consensual the judgments of nominators) were actually powerful, was in doubt.

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[23] Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (December, 1959), p. 797.

[24] *Ibid.*

Validity of the reputational method has been questioned by community analysts on various grounds. First, pluralists have argued that the use of citizen panels for verification of power figures may result in the identification of the *reputed,* rather than *actual,* power wielders. Secondly, since ordinary citizens usually possess inadequate knowledge about actual power systems in communities, their responses have doubtful validity and may not represent "anything more than a report of public opinion on politics."[25] Third, the reputational method leads to the identification of both *status* figures and *power* figures and offers no means for distinguishing between these types. Pluralists have argued that there is no reason to suppose that status and power are synonymous.[26] Finally, the reputational method fails to make required distinctions among friends and foes in the elite system; there is a presumption of unity among members of the power structure.

Some of the research subsequent to the Regional City study has attempted to clarify certain deficiencies seen in Hunter's approach. The researchers argued that it was necessary to examine a number of issues independently to ascertain the extent to which the same individuals had control over policy rather than assume that they had the same degree of control in a wide range of areas. They supplemented nominations of the reputedly influential people by asking the nominees whether in fact they had been active in a selected set of political issues. In a recent restudy of Regional City, Cleveland and Jennings[27] have concluded that Hunter's portrait of this city needs some amendment. The political leadership, apart from its unity or diversity in preferences about the scope of government, is more specialized in decision-making activity than might have been thought.

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[25] Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," *American Sociological Review,* XXV (1960), p. 642.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 640.

[27] Frederic Cleveland and Kent Jennings, unpublished manuscript, University of North Carolina.

Elite Unity

Just as Rossi has questioned the unity of the top political leaders in terms of values, so Dahl has questioned their unity in terms of economic and social backgrounds. The *Preface to Democratic Theory* represents some fundamental rethinking on the part of Dahl about the meaning of democracy.[28] He opines that democracy is still viable even though an apathetic mass does not directly participate in decision-making, as long as the various publics which compose the mass are represented by their most active sections in the give and take of issue-resolution. Moreover, from the materials on the New Haven study (published in book and article form by Dahl[29] and his students Wolfinger[30] and Polsby[31]), we can see a portrait of a once monolithic, old New England community which has been transformed. Along with the rest of an increasingly complex society, it has changed from a polity wherein leaders of a number of countervailing sectors of society, from the old Yankees to the (comparatively) newly arrived ethnic groups, all have a voice in the functioning of the city. In his description of political processes, Dahl has relied, to a certain extent, upon the analogy of the market place. He sees one set of community leaders in New Haven as bargaining for the groups they represent against leaders of other groups who (at least for the moment) have interests at variance with the first set. This takes place in a system in which all sets are more or less committed to the rules of the game (democracy with loyal opposition) and diverge only in their incompatible demands for a share in the limited amount of goods on display in the market. Dahl's picture of competing leaders and leadership groups in New Haven would thus appear to contradict Hunter's picture of elite unity in Regional City.

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[28] Robert A. Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

[29] Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1961).

[30] Wolfinger, *op. cit.*

[31] Polsby, *op. cit. See also:* Nelson W. Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Powers: A Reassessment," *Social Forces*, XXXVII (March, 1959), pp. 232-236.

THE PLURALIST SCHOOL

Although pluralists would agree that power and influence are always relationships among people, they have questioned *a priori* assumptions about the invariable correlation between power and social structure variables, such as wealth, status, and position. Polsby has pointed out that the pluralist position holds "that nothing categorical can be assumed about power in any community. [The pluralist position] rejects the stratification thesis that *some* group necessarily dominates a community."[32] Moreover, Polsby has indicated that findings concerning the existence of a community power structure are untenable unless "there exists a high degree of overlap among issue areas in decision-making personnel, or of institutionalization in the basis of power in specified issue areas, or of regularity in the procedures of decision-making . . ."[33]

The essence of the pluralist position might be summarized as follows: (1) sociological assumptions about the invariable correlation between *power* and variables such as position, wealth, and prestige are open to question; (2) correlations between power and the variables associated with status can be established only through empirical test; (3) the assessment of community power requires intensive study of the actions of participants in processes of community decision-making and issue-resolution; (4) the determination of overlap among decision-making personnel is possible only if several issue-areas are selected for study in a community; (5) community power is accorded to individuals and groups, *not* on the basis of their perceived status or reputation, but rather on the basis of their participation in decision-making processes and their actual impact in affecting decisional outcomes.

Conceiving of political leadership in terms of participation and impact in processes of decision-making has several important consequences. The selection of decision-making processes for study shapes the character of the power structure observed. If processes are selected that involve mass sharing in decision-making or political power, the analyst's picture of the community polity will tend to be that of a broadly based power structure. If processes are selected that involve only a few decision-makers, the analyst's picture will show a narrow, restricted distribution of political power.

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[32] Polsby, "How to Study Community Power," *Journal of Politics*, XX (1960), p. 476.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 483.

This means that some of the controversy over the scope of power structures in American communities has been due to the fact that analysts have selected different types of processes in different communities. It also means that the role of government officials, administrators, and experts in community power structures will vary as different sets of decisional processes are at the focus of attention of the analyst.

Strengths of Pluralist Position

Although pluralist theory and methodology have not escaped criticism,[34] the work of this school has tended to strengthen the study of community decision-making in a number of ways.

1. ***Pluralists have made available evidence about community political systems in process.*** Studies by pluralists exhibit strength in their concern for (a) systematic observation of political processes, (b) precision in data collection and data analysis, and (c) strict attention to significant problems of evidence. The pluralist methodology offers an alternate means for identifying community rulers which is dependent neither upon analyses of reputations nor upon data extrapolations derived from analyses of formal structures.

2. ***Pluralists offer a methodology for the development of a range of propositions in relation to community political systems.*** The pluralist position appears not to rule out the possibility that some American communities are ruled by a monolithic power elite. Empirical tests using the pluralist methodology may, in fact, signify that such a conclusion is justifiable. On the other hand, neither does the method rule out the possibility that in other communities power is more widely dispersed. The important point here is that the pluralist methodology offers an avenue for mapping the total domain of

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[34] See, for example, Thomas J. Anton, "Power, Pluralism, and Local Politics," *op. cit.*, pp. 448-456.

community power *types,* i.e., for developing typologies of power that can be subjected to test and verification in a wide range and number of communities.

Shortcomings of Pluralist Position

A number of shortcomings of the pluralist position should also be cited.

1. *Although pluralist studies have presented excellent pictures of community political systems in process, few hypotheses have been generated about interrelationships between the political behavior and the social structure characteristics of communities.* Intensification of efforts toward relating diverse structural characteristics of communities[35] to various resource bases that determine community power distributions appears to be in order.

2. *The use of isolated case studies, together with a concentration on small numbers of issues, has limited the productivity of a heuristic methodology.* Comparative community studies would do much to increase the generalizability of findings about community political systems. Moreover, studies based on greater numbers of significant issues would tend to increase confidence in findings about power structures in different types of communities.

3. *There is a need to identify both structural and institutional contexts which have tended to generate either identical or divergent systems of political participation and power.* An acute need at this time is to develop typologies of community power systems which can be related to similarities or differences in (a) community social structures and (b) existing political systems. Whether pluralist theory and methodology are adequate to meet these challenges is a moot question which will undoubtedly engage the attention of both analysts and researchers for some time to come.

COMPARATIVE COMMUNITY STUDIES

As mentioned earlier, it is patently the case that different pictures of the structuring and functioning of community politics might actually be valid descriptions of different situations rather than representative of inadequate and inconsistent methods of investigation. Analysts such as D'Antonio,[36] Miller, Form, and others have begun to inquire into this possibility by using a comparative frame of reference and a single methodology. They have, moreover, begun to examine and compare sectors and institutions within communities, moving thereby to more complex and more useful models of community decision-making. Comparative research using other than the reputational technique, however, is still surprisingly the exception rather than the rule.

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[35] Such as population size, industrial development, scope of local government, salience of local party organizations, homogeneity or heterogeneity of community inhabitants in terms of ethnic origin, religious preferences, and occupations, etc.

It should also be noted that only a handful of community studies have paid attention to changes in community political systems over time. Schulze has done this with a political history of Cibola, while Dahl has engaged in a historical reconstruction of New Haven. Schulze has stressed the political changes that may be associated with the economic change from local to absentee ownership of industry. Dahl, on the other hand, has delineated the possible effects of immigration—both in relation to community change and in regard to changing political leaderships. The assessment of cause and effect relationships over time, however, is difficult when *post facto* historical methods are the only methods used.

More recently, a number of basic innovations have been made in the approach and conceptual framework of the study of community politics by another team of researchers.[37] This team has done validity studies of the reputational method in four communities of different size and regional location. The method appears to be substantially valid but only for identifying that portion of the political leadership which is visible, that is, leaders who are manifestly so. To estimate something of the size and character of the latent political leadership, that is, the less visible leaders, random sample surveys of the entire citizenry were used. Political leadership was conceived as the roles played by people with some effect in the authoritative consideration stage of decision-making processes. In a decisional process, this stage occurs prior to the decisional outcome and may or may not be the province of formal governmental authorities. Defined and identified this way, the political leadership, even in cities with the most unified monolithic power systems, is much larger than a reputational method alone would suggest.

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[36] *Op. cit.*

[37] Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert Swanson, *The Rulers and the Ruled* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964). *See also:* Robert E. Agger, *et al.*, "Comparative Community Politics," in L. V. Padgett (ed.), *Community Development in the Western Hemisphere* (San Diego State College, Public Affairs Research Institute, 1961), pp. 1-8.

Decisional processes are taken as the unit of analysis by this group of investigators. Attention is not restricted to controversial issues. Political power may accrue to the active participants in a very consensual, non-controversial decisional process. Thus, so-called administrative decision-making may come—and should come—within the purview of analysts of political power relations. The difference between administrative and political decision-making is conceived in this theoretical framework as a matter of degree rather than of kind. This difference is based on such factors as the extent to which questions about, or demands and counter-demands concerning, the most appropriate policies and programs of government relative to private institutions and agencies are put in "technical" or non-technical terms and the extent to which the decision directly affects broad numbers of citizens. Thus, administrators may be involved in political decision-making, whereas politicians may be involved in administrative decision-making.

It can be observed, too, that communities may develop or move away from a "politics of discontent" and move from a set of quiet administrative decision-making processes to a set of conflictful political decision-making processes. This underlines the frequently disregarded fact that community politics and power structures change. The conception of decision-making processes as the basic unit of analysis of political power forces a conscious delineation of studies of community politics to specified time periods. Decisional processes may occur not only over time, but from time period to time period new decisional processes may emerge, and the old ones continue in being. Thus, specifying the time period of interest to the analyst appears to be as necessary as specifying the decisional processes and areas of interest.

The work of the last mentioned team of community analysts suggests a number of questions that require systematic comparative study: Why and under what conditions are some decisional processes treated as administrative decision-making, and under what conditions are the same processes treated as political decision-making? Why and under what conditions are administrative personnel engaged in what types of processes? Why and under what conditions do citizens actively participate in the making of what sorts of decisions?

The last question is of particular importance in this period of what may be labeled "the politics of increasing discontent" in many communities. This takes the form of votes against school bond measures, against urban renewal programs, against local governmental consolidation plans and the like. Comparative studies are needed to understand why this is more the case in some cities than in others. Careful examination is also needed of the organization and functioning of community social systems, economic systems, and political systems as they may relate to variations in the distribution of political decision-making power in the form of such negative voting. As Luvern Cunningham has noted with reference to school districts, they "do not exist in an economic, social or governmental vacuum. As local units of government they are inextricably enmeshed with a host of other public as well as private interests. School districts along with other local governments in urban America are in competition for two kinds of support—one is financial and the other might be characterized as 'attitudinal.' "[38]

CONCLUSIONS

Students of community decision-making have spent much time questioning one another's methods, perhaps in the realization that their conclusions, which seem to differ so much, might be artifacts of the assumptions and techniques of different investigators. The field seems not only ready but very much in need of the adoption of a set of methods based on a few explicitly stated assumptions which will allow investigators to study many different communities, not only simultaneously, but also over time, in order to assess the extent to which decisions do vary from city to city and issue to issue, and to determine whether there are any common patterns of community life within particular communities and among categories of communities which are linked to one or another type of decision-making process.

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[38] Luvern L. Cunningham, "A School District and City Government," *The American School Board Journal*, CXLI (December, 1960), pp. 9-11, 37.

To make studies of community decision-making even more productive than they have been in the past will require movement in several directions. The following appear to be among the most salient avenues for forward movement:

1. *Realization that the controversy between pluralists and members of the reputational school has been both unproductive and beside the point.* Other than on an individual basis, the question of whether American communities have monolithic or pluralistic power structures is unresolvable. Given the current state of knowledge about community political systems—as derived from a handful of studies based on *different* communities and *differing* methodologies—the answers to significant questions concerning the prevalence of various types of political systems among American communities are moot. Hunter's comment on Dahl's findings in New Haven appears *à propos* on this point. Said Hunter, "O.K. Who knows New Haven better at this time than Dahl? He has just finished a study there which must stand until the next investigator takes a look."[39] The important point is this: It is premature (and unscientific) to seek closure on the questions that have precipitated debate. A great deal more research (using both reputational and pluralist techniques) appears necessary before questions of this kind can be confronted in intelligent fashion.

2. *Sustained effort to generate more viable approaches to the study of community politics and power.* Random effort in research has long been detrimental to the continuity, generalizability, and cumulative impact of knowledge generated through disciplined inquiry. The field of community studies appears to have suffered

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[39] Floyd Hunter, "Book Review," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, VI (March, 1962), pp. 517-519.

from the shortcomings of random research efforts. The need for research patterns that circumvent inadequacies and discontinuities appears clear and compelling.

Extended use of comparative and/or cooperative experiments would appear to offer at least one pattern that would help to alleviate the shortcomings of random approaches. Sustained attention should be directed toward (a) developing new approaches to large-scale experimentation in the field of community studies, (b) focusing conscious interdisciplinary attention upon important and significant problems and variables requiring research attention, and (c) developing conceptual frameworks and theoretical models to guide disciplined inquiry in large-scale experimentation.[49]

Large-scale comparative and cooperative approaches to the study of community political systems appear to be needed for several reasons: (a) to ensure the continuity that is lacking in random approaches, (b) to secure not only the contribution of each individual but also the additional information that can be generated through combining the results of many studies, (c) to open the possibility for pursuing a multiplicity of objectives and aims in research designs, (d) to make possible more efficient utilization of experimental resources, (e) to ensure that knowledge generated through disciplined inquiry will be more cumulative in nature, (f) to lay a research base to produce results that will have much wider generality.

As noted earlier, large-scale experimentation should be structured on common theory with explicitly stated assumptions and should make provisions for analysts to study communities both simultaneously and over time. Moreover, attention should be given both to a careful delineation of the dimensions of the political system to be encompassed (economic, social, political) and to the development of common methodologies.

3. *Deliberate attempts to come to grips with the concept of "community."* Although both sociologists and political scientists have, for some time, been engaged in "community" studies, neither disci-

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[49] Examples of efforts to come to grips with these problems would be the research seminar on "Processes of Community Decision-Making and Change and Their Influence on Education" held at the University of Oregon, August 5-24, 1963, and the Kansas City Comparative Community Study Conference, sponsored by Community Studies, Inc., June 14-17, 1961.

pline has attempted a serious delineation of the various foci for community identification. The lack of explicit conceptions and definitions has led, as Anton has observed, to a state of affairs where "pluralists talk about issues which may or may not be community issues, while the followers of Hunter talk about power, which may or may not be community power."[41]

4. *Continuous effort to ascertain the relationships between differing political systems and the structural and institutional contexts in which they become manifest.* Rogers[42] has suggested that one starting point for beginning this work is to "construct 'ideal-type' models of community power structures, from the most monolithic to the most pluralistic, and attempt to ascertain the structural conditions that correspond with and perhaps give rise to these various types."[43] Important goals in this work would be (a) movement toward more specific mapping of the total universe of community power types, (b) the identification of critical variables that are strongly associated with either monolithic or pluralistic power structure, and (c) the formulation of typologies of community power that can be tested and verified in communities of various kinds.

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[41] Thomas J. Anton, "Power, Pluralism, and Local Politics," *op. cit.*, p. 456. For an extended discussion of the problems involved in defining "community," see Chapter 2.

[42] David Rogers, "Community Political Systems," in Bert E. Swanson (ed.), *Current Trends in Comparative Community Studies* (Kansas City: Community Studies, Inc., 1962), pp. 31-48.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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Chapter 2

COMMUNITY POWER: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

by
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The preparation of this chapter was undertaken on the assumption that the research of an empirical nature on community power, community decision-making, and community change plus certain theoretical models (tested and untested) and the reflections of knowledgeable people in the behavioral sciences would indeed have implications for education. One of the unanticipated outcomes may be the discovery that this assumption is false.

An implicit purpose of the seminar "Processes on Community Decision-Making and Change and Their Influence on Education" was the apprehension and articulation of concepts, ideas, or notions that may in some fashion prove to be useful to those who are in positions to affect or effect educational decision-making. The word "implications" that appears in the title of this presentation may not communicate sufficient meaning to express the focus of these remarks. "Utility value" more accurately conveys the sense in which the word "implications" is used here. The utilitarian purpose is not intended to detract from the central purpose of the seminar which was the refinement of research approaches and methodologies leading to fruitful inquiry into the phenomena under examination. Rather it is included to offer some sort of reality test of work already completed and to provide loose guidelines in the formulation of subsequent research problems. The views expressed are essentially pragmatic and are the product of the observations of a "participant" (former principal and school superintendent) in community decision-making as well as a professor-researcher.

One further comment on "utility value" seems justified before moving into the body of the chapter. Possessing knowledge, understanding, or insight on the part of participants in educational decision-making is of no consequence unless such knowledge, understanding, or insight is used. The registry of any impact, influence, or effect on education due to the work of community researchers must come to rest most prominently on the board of education and/or the professional staff of the school.[1] Until the work of researchers is known by the men and women on school boards, the superintendents of schools, the principals, and even the teachers, there can be little if any impact on the field of education. To this point the work on power structure, for example, has had little effect on school administrators. The term is kicked around a lot, and a few superintendents have found it nice to introduce in conversation with colleagues or to use in a speech, but few school administrators or professors of school administration[2] really know the work in this field. This is not to imply that school administrators do not "use" the power they can locate intuitively or do not build power structures of their own. They do. It is to say that few administrators have internalized the concepts about power or have developed skills in the application of their "new" knowledge.[3]

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[1] One cannot deny that insights gained through a solid grounding in the behavioral sciences would be useful to any individual and/or groups with designs on affecting school policy. Obviously knowledge about community decision-making and change is on the "open market" and is not the sole province of the professional. Citizens who seek to effect modifications in their community environment are privileged to do so. Discussion here is limited, however, to professionals, such as teachers, administrators, and consultants, and to active participants in the decision process, such as board members. In the final analysis, all significant policy matters must be processed through the formal structure of school district government.

COMMUNITY: A PHANTASM

As I interpret the burgeoning literature on community power and decision, I am overwhelmed with the ambiguity surrounding the use of the term "community." It means all things to all people. There appears to be little relationship between the boundaries within which "community power" exists and is exercised and political jurisdictions (as muddled as they are) where, sooner or later, public community decisions must be legitimized. Adrian argues that for most purposes the community has become a functional rather than a geographic concept.

> Its spatial boundaries do not coincide with the legal area encompassed by a local unit of government. To the citizen, the concept of community may simultaneously include an area both larger and smaller than a given city. For example, it differs for purposes of water supply, community chest campaigns, retail trading, educational facilities, hospital service, religious worship, police protection, and other activities. The community,

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[2] The translation of what has been produced by researchers in sociology, political science, political sociology, social psychology, psychology, economics, and anthropology primarily into marketable ideas and usable merchandise for practitioners is dependent in some measure upon those of us who occupy rather uneasy "middle man" roles in the preparation of school administrators. Professors are in the "middle" if they choose to teach the concepts, report and interpret the research findings from other fields, or do research of their own utilizing the theoretical models indigenous to behavioral sciences in which they are not well trained. Professors of school administration are likewise in the "middle" if they choose to guide their students through an interdisciplinary course and seminar maze, advising on selections to be taken from an intellectual smorgasbord.

[3] For a stimulating discussion of the problems of "applied" social science and particularly the seduction of social scientists themselves by power structures of various ilks, see Arthur Kornhauser, "Power Relationships and the Role of the Social Scientist," in Arthur Kornhauser (ed.), *Problems of Power in American Democracy* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957), pp. 184-217.

> as a symbol of direct social relationships and grass-roots government, has been highly romanticized in recent years, by both popular and scholarly writers. People were never so interested in it as they have become now that they feel they have lost it.[4]

What is a community—really? Is it an epitome of the world as some would argue? Some maintain that people, land, and institutional adequacy are the three essential concepts of community; others declare that the term "local community" refers to people who just live close together, and living close together could mean in a neighborhood, or a small town, or a suburb, or a section of a large city, or a metropolis, or a "megalopolis," or a region, or a state, or a nation.

Again, what is a community? Is it some kind of collectivity that possesses *some* sort of central nervous system which responds to stimuli? And does this collectivity have an intellect which permits it to act upon itself—to clean its alleys, to destroy its slums, to build its schools, to enlarge its boundaries—or to fail to act upon itself—to rot, decay, and wither away? If the analogue is appropriate, some communities appear to be sharp, responsive, vibrant, while in others the nerve endings are dull, non-responsive, or at best responsive only to selective types of stimuli.

Norton Long in his delightful essay "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games"[5] wades through the swamp of local community with beauty, eloquence, and power, and without defining "community." The best he has achieved is the use of "territorial system" which bounds the province of individual institutions and implies some kind of nebulous ecological functioning directed toward equally nebulous institutional objectives:

> Observation of certain local communities makes it appear that inclusive over-all organization for many general purposes is weak or non-existent. Much of what occurs seems to just happen with accidental trends becoming cumulative over time and producing results

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[4] Charles R. Adrian (ed.), *Social Science and Community Action* (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1960), p. 3.

[5] Norton E. Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIV (November, 1958), pp. 251-261.

> intended by nobody. A great deal of the communities' activities consist of undirected cooperation of particular social structures, each seeking particular goals and, in doing so, meshing with others.[6]

As nearly as can be determined Long views the "community" in Parsonian fashion and incorporates considerable elasticity relative to size and scope of local "territorial systems." Within each of the geographies there exist "institutions," and it is within these arenas that Long's games are played. On the basis of this essay you might peg Long as a diffusionist (which is supposed to be the right stance for a political scientist), but you wouldn't have to, because he admits that there may indeed be a "they" that call the shots in some "territorial systems." Great footwork.[7]

An equally slippery but more ideal or classical definition is Dewey's:

> Wherever there is conjoint activity whose consequences are appreciated as good by all singular persons who take part in it, and where the realization of the good is such as to effect an energetic desire and effort to sustain it in being just because it is a good shared by all, there is in so far a community. The clear consciousness of a communal life, in all its implications, constitutes the idea of democracy.[8]

CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY POWER

In the absence of examples to the contrary it appears that most of the research on community power and community decision-making assumes local government of the "democratic" form to exist in the United States. The biases of the monolithic school, however, are testimony to the contrary. The existence of a powerful although amorphous "they" presupposes oligarchy. Without imputing goodness or badness to oligarchical forms and democratic forms, presumptions of oligarchical forms and democratic forms are two different things, and each researcher ought to be clear on which conception he is basing his research. Even the concept of power structure, irrespective of its benevolent or despotic character, is by definition something other than democratic unless defined to include as participants all persons residing within its territorial system.

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] I would not want to be misinterpreted here; I view Long's short treatise on ecology of games as most important. So important in fact that I think he has about said it all. Peter Rossi argues that despite the long tradition of community studies in empirical branches of sociology and anthropology, little progress has been made in putting things together in a systematic fashion. We can hardly argue with Rossi on that point. Indeed it may be that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. It's like putting three pounds of putty in a two pound container.

[8] John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (Denver: Alan Swallow, Publisher), p. 149.

Robert S. Lynd contends:

> Clearly, a social system stressing thoroughgoing democratic social relations is a test case likely to burst the seams of the traditional conception of power, since a genuinely democratic social structure and a structure of power operating in terms of arbitrary and socially irresponsible dominance are incompatible.[9]

Lynd is not positing an irreconcilable contradiction between power and democracy. He states forcefully that there is no fundamental incompatibility between democracy and power but that the fact of a long historical identification of organized power as a corrupting and disordering factor in society casts a shadow over the capacity of people to conceive of a society in which positive democratic power can be used in democratic ways to achieve collective ends.

> Given a system of social relations that expresses unqualified democracy, the structure of power in that society will tend to express similarly unqualified democracy, and likewise the resulting values and modes of operating institutions.[10]

The point is simple and obvious: that students of community power must be clear about their assumptions and presuppositions. Dahl, however, who seems to sin less in this regard than most, argues for getting on with the job: "Any investigation of society must begin somewhere, and some things must be taken for granted. We cannot define terms endlessly."[11] I support getting on with the job, but I will hold out for greater concern with precision in the use of terminology and clearer explication of assumptions.

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[9] Robert S. Lynd, "Power in American Society as Resource and Problem," in Arthur Kornhauser (ed.), *Problems of Power in American Democracy, op. cit.*, p. 34.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[11] Robert A. Dahl, "The Analysis of Influence in Local Communities," in Charles R. Adrian (ed.), *Social Science and Community Action, op. cit.*, p. 28.

No useful purpose would be served in attempting to analyse in detail the research to date on community power. The reviews of Peter Rossi (1957), Sethard Fisher (1962), and Thomas J. Anton (1963), are excellent.[12] Suffice it to say that the descriptions of internecine warfare, particularly as portrayed by Anton, are a delight to the noncombatant.

LOCAL SCHOOL POLITICS

We "educationists" find it most amusing to observe the contemporary discovery of local school systems by political and social scientists. It is as if thirty-five thousand local units of government have popped up unexpectedly. Thomas H. Eliot discovered the local schools in 1959. Eliot, whom I admire and respect enormously, introduces his essay on local school politics with the following preface:

> Mounting concern over the aims and achievements of American public schools emphasizes the need for continuing analysis of how the schools are run and who runs them. The general theory is simple enough: schools are objects of local control, the people of a local school district exercise that control through an elected school board, and the board appoints a superintendent to act as the chief executive of the district. There are variations from this pattern—in some places school boards are appointed rather than elected, in others the school system is formally a part of the city government, and in a few districts other officials, such as a business manager or building superintendent, share the top executive authority—but it is by far the

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[12] The specific references are: Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision Making," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, I (March, 1957), pp. 415-443; Sethard Fisher, "Community-Power Studies: A Critique," *Social Research*, XXIX (Winter, 1962), pp. 449-466; and Thomas J. Anton, "Power, Pluralism, and Local Politics," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, VII (March, 1963), pp. 425-457.

> most common arrangement among the nation's approximately 50,000 school districts.[*]

Within the past decade serious inquiry by competent social scientists seems to have begun in earnest. The seminar which inspired this book is further evidence that this is so. The Carnegie supported projects at Washington University and Syracuse are good contemporary examples. The W. K. Kellogg sponsored Cooperative Program in Educational Administration in the 1950's is another, especially the work at the University of Oregon, University of Chicago, and The Ohio State University centers. Eliot's treatise on public school politics fitted into an emerging interest in schools among behavioral scientists and as such came as no surprise. What is worthy of note is his admixture of emotionality and naivete about what he announces as the nation's most numerous and expensive unit of local government. This is more than a criticism of Eliot's paper. It is a testimonial to the lack of understanding that most non-educators reflect when it comes to the organizational and political structures of the nation's schools.

The Structural Setting for Public Education

Among the criticisms that might be made of the study of community power and community decision-making to date are these: First, there have been relatively few attempts to study educational decisions within the educational "territorial system." Most power structure studies and decision studies are conducted within broader and overlapping "territorial systems," and the direct focus on educational decision-making is missing. There are exceptions, of course, but for the most part references to educational decisions are tangential or peripheral. Second, in those attempts to study local educational power structures, or issues relative to educational decisions, or decision-making and change, the uniqueness of the local school district as a unit of government has been ignored. Researchers have proceeded as indicated earlier, with little enough concern for the concept of community. When one adds to this error the absence of understanding about school districts, apprehension about the work thus far is understandable.

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[*] Divine revelation indeed. To many educators it appears as if someone rattled a branch, sending dozens of social science antelopes scurrying into the nation's educational wastelands. Many "educators" have for years tried to enlist the aid of their behavioral science colleagues in the study of the school's social and political milieu. Recent interest is welcome indeed, but also amusing. The quotation is from Thomas H. Eliot, "Toward an Understanding of Public School Politics," *American Political Science Review*, LII (December, 1959), pp. 1032-1043, 1048-1050.

No doubt our founding fathers who held deep beliefs in a loose-knit, three-layer governmental structure with rather clear separation of powers, responsibilities, and functions by layer would have difficulty in recognizing our contemporary, grotesque federation. As Dewey stated, "The imagination of the founders did not travel far beyond what could be accomplished and understood in a congeries of self-governing communities."[14] Some activities of government, once essentially local, are now shared, or contaminated depending on your point of view, with state and federal interests, and some revenue sources, which were once the province of only one level, have now become common property. Grodzins' marble-cake concept is descriptive; maybe fruit basket upset is even more so. As a consequence of the increasing interdependence of the levels of government, as well as the complex mixing of local governments, it is difficult to examine local units of government without examining intergovernmental relations. The school district is very much a part of the totality of local government and is affected markedly by its relations with other layers of governments as well as other units of local government.

The Local School District

The public is confused about local school districts. The average citizen apparently finds it difficult to distinguish between a school district and an attendance area, for example. Likewise citizens assume that all schools should be comparable irrespective of where they may be, reflecting little insight about how schools are organized, financed, or governed.[15]

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[14] Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[15] William P. McLure, "Structures of Educational Government: As Viewed by the Educator," in William P. McLure and Van Miller (eds.), *Government of Public Education for Adequate Policy Making* (Urbana: Bureau of Educational Research, College of Education, University of Illinois, 1960), pp. 32-33.

The school district is not only the most numerous of the nation's local governments but probably the least understood unit of government. As David Minar points out in writing about the politics of suburban area school districts:

> Though seldom considered from this point of view, the suburban school district—in terms of function, structure, and legal standing—actually is, both formally and explicitly, a political system. It has a defined geographical jurisdiction, a specified range of purposes, a recognizedly "public" character, a constituency, mechanisms for popular selection and control of decision-makers, a legislative body, an executive, a bureaucracy, and fiscal powers. Like other local political jurisdictions, it is established and run according to the laws of the state.[16]

School districts are somewhat unique creatures which undoubtedly contributes to the lack of understanding of them.[17] They are our most common and in many ways our most diverse units of local government. We have in the United States school districts comprising great cities such as New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D.C., as well as the several thousand non-operating districts and a vast range of sizes, classes, and types in between. "Their diversity is something to behold and illustrates sharply the tenaciousness with which Americans hold to these remnants of republicanism and grass roots expression of the public will."[18]

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[16] David Minar, "School, Community and Politics in Suburban Areas," in B. J. Chandler, Lindley J. Stiles, and John I. Kitsuse (eds.), *Education in Urban Society* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1963), p. 91.

[17] Our citizens have been criticized for their lack of knowledge about government and especially local government. My hunch is that for unadulterated ignorance we can find few parallels for citizen ignorance relative to school government. During the months of April and May, 1963, I served as a citizen committee member with responsibility for informing people of our school district of the pros and cons of a school district referendum. After several "Koffee Klatch" type sessions, attended for the most part by college graduates, the most prominent impression I had was the lack of understanding of tax structures, school districts, relationships among local units of government, powers of school boards, and relationships between local school districts and state authorities.

[18] This quotation, as well as some of the other notions relative to school districts and school boards reported in this chapter, is drawn from Chapters IV and VII of Roald F. Campbell, Luvern L. Cunningham, and Roderick F. McPhee, *The Organization of American Schools* (Columbus, Ohio: E. C. Merrill Company), forthcoming.

School districts are extensions of state governments and exist only at the pleasure of the people of the states. Any state, within its constitutional and statutory framework can destroy, modify, or proliferate these units. Through these governments local decisions are reached, relative to the management and operation of the schools; likewise, through these districts the policy of the state is implemented.

The citizen appears to set school districts apart from other types of government. School districts have enjoyed this separation "supposedly out of public disdain for associating anything as fundamental as education with the muck and mire of practical politics."[19] School districts in the majority of cases possess autonomy in respect to the management and control of their fiscal affairs and retain nonpartisanship in the election of their school board members. Much has been made of the supposed difference in points of view between educators and political scientists on the question of dependent and independent school districts. Educators in arguing for independence appear to attribute divinity to the operation of schools and the conduct of school affairs; political scientists on the other hand have pleaded philosophically that the setting apart of school government from other government is not desirable.

The argument may very well be academic, as admittedly some of the control of public schools that heretofore resided in local district officials has been shifted to other levels of government. Campbell has pointed to changes in the control of American education:

> It is quite clear that the public schools of this country have always operated within a framework established by the various states and that federal influences of some kind have always been prevalent. In recent decades, state controls over schools have been strengthened and federal activities in education, widely dispersed among many agencies, have multiplied. Federal influence has been piecemeal, haphazard, perhaps even surreptitious and often clothed in pious affirmation of state and local control. But inevitably the national stake in education and the growing social and economic interdependence of the nation have required

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[19] *Ibid.*, Chapter IV.

> congressional action and United States Supreme Court interpretation on educational questions. The time seems ripe for a realistic view of circumstances as they are and the forging of an honest local-state-federal partnership in education."[20]

If Campbell's observations are accurate, local school district influence systems have a narrower "policy" boundary within which to work.

Each of the fifty states classifies its own districts for legal purposes. That is, constitutional provisions and the laws creating districts, as well as the statutes which pertain to their operation, establish and reinforce district classifications. Three states have but one legal classification, while two states have as many as eight legally defined school district classes.

In addition to the ways in which districts are classified by law, two other systems of categorizing districts are sometimes used.[21] One is by scope of the educational program offered, and the other is by geographical or territorial characteristics. Within each of these two broad categories, at least five sub-categories can be discerned. Looking first at scope of program, there are many districts which provide elementary (K-8, K-6, 1-6, 1-8,) education only. Although these constitute a majority of all the districts in the nation, they do not enroll a majority of the children. In Cook County, Illinois, however, exclusive of the Chicago School District, a majority of the elementary pupils are enrolled in elementary school districts. The number of districts that fall into this category is large because of the thousands of one-room rural schools that provide elementary education.

More than a thousand districts exist which offer just secondary education, and they are usually called high school districts—Evanston Township High School District, Evanston, Illinois, is an example. About a million high school youngsters are enrolled in high school districts; such districts are found in twenty-one of the fifty states. They are most numerous in Kansas, Illinois, and California.

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[20] Roald F. Campbell, "The Folklore of Local School Control," *The School Review*, LXVIII (Spring, 1959), p. 15.

[21] These two systems of describing and categorizing school districts are drawn from the American Association of School Administrators Commission for School District Reorganization, *School District Organization* (AASA, 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C., 1958), pp. 86-103.

A majority of the country's pupils are attending schools in districts which fall into the third sub-category: the unified school district offering programs of K-12, 1-12, K-14, 1-14. About one-third of all districts are unified.

Some districts provide only junior college programs. These are small in total number but growing in importance. California, Illinois, Iowa, Oregon, Minnesota, and Michigan, to name a few, are states that have passed recent legislation providing for junior college districts and/or special financial aids from the state which has stimulated the growth in number, as well as size, of community and junior colleges.

Finally, in terms of scope of program, there are the several thousand non-operating districts which offer no educational program at all. Many of these clutter up the landscape in states such as Nebraska, Minnesota, and North Dakota. These districts are bona fide governmental subdivisions with rights and privileges that pertain thereto. Their school boards meet in accordance with the law, but they do not operate schools.

Turning to the other classification scheme, categorizing by geography or territory, there are community districts, city districts, county districts, town or township districts, and common school districts. These labels are more or less self-explanatory, and no particular description is required. Suffice it to say that all of the nation's districts can be divided according to either of the two schemes, scope of program or geography.

The extremes among districts are almost too vast to comprehend in such things as area, enrollments, capacity to finance, quality of programs, scope of educational needs, and the training, experience, and performance of teachers and administrators. These variations are notable within states as well as among states. The extremes are extensive within counties where the "haves" border the "have nots."

School Board Members

School boards like school districts come in all sizes, shapes, and descriptions. Individuals serving on school boards represent all social classes, races, and religions, although a large percentage of the nation's total school board population is drawn from the business, managerial, and professional occupations. Most school board members are elected (nearly six out of seven is a reasonably accurate estimate). In districts with populations of over 500,000, however, more than half of all board members are appointed. Most of us are familiar with the controversy in New York State about the New York City schools which occurred in 1961. Problems within the schools precipitated the virtual recall of the existing New York City School Board and the appointment of an entirely new board. Similar circumstances in Chicago during the early 1940's led to the adoption of an appointive system, special in character, which seems to be serving Chicago reasonably well. The legislature in New York followed the Chicago example in rearranging the scheme for naming board members in the New York City School District.[19]

As significant as the legal selection machinery is, the systems of nominating candidates for school board membership are of equal importance. The sorting of persons that precedes the actual voting, or appointing, has been highly refined in many districts, less so in others. To qualify for candidacy people must observe the letter of the law relative to getting their names on the ballot. Some candidates actively seek membership on boards, circulate petitions to have their names placed on the ballots, and campaign for the positions. Other persons are less active, must be sought out, cajoled, enticed, persuaded, or seduced into running for school board posts.

Caucus systems are developing in what appears to be an increasing number of school districts. Nebraska statutes[20] governing Class II districts require non-partisan caucuses for the purpose of nominating two candidates for each school board vacancy, and only the names of these two persons can appear on the ballot. Caucuses of the type required in Nebraska, as well as many other states, are stipulated in the law. It is the number of extra-legal caucuses that appears to be growing, and these caucuses represent deliberate attempts to improve the quality of persons serving on school boards.

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[19] An account of these developments, especially Commissioner Allen's part in the affair, can be found in Terry Ferrer, "Commissioner Allen of the Empire State," *Saturday Review* (September 16, 1961), pp. 66-67.

[20] Section 79-702, *Nebraska School Laws*, Eleventh Unicameral Edition, Sixty-ninth Session of the Nebraska Legislature (Lincoln, Nebraska: Stephenson School Supply Co., 1959-60), pp. 215-216.

Muns[24] studied caucus committees in northeastern Illinois. He defined the caucus committee as a body of representatives of a school district chosen for the purpose of canvassing, screening, and nominating the best available candidates for school board membership. There are arguments for and against the use of blue ribbon groups which hand pick school board members.[25] For our purposes it is necessary only to recognize that these groups exist and are important facts of life in educational decision-making in a growing number of the nation's school districts.[26] It is worth noting again that most of the caucus committees are extra-legal.

Life for many seems to have few rewards; life for school board members at times seems to have no rewards at all. Why would anyone want to serve on a school board in the first place? Board members are called on to give of their time and services, and in return they receive gripes, criticisms, nasty letters, a modest per diem in some cases, and an opportunity, if chairman of the board, to hand out the diplomas on graduation night. The answer to the question is that many well-qualified people do not want to be board members, and among those that do McCarty found that fifty-four percent of a sample of board members drawn from Wisconsin and Illinois were selfishly motivated.[27] The individuals included in McCarty's study, to whom self-seeking motivations were attributed, openly acknowledged that school board membership would permit them to achieve highly personal goals or special interest group goals with which they were linked. The analysis of data relative to the motivations of Massachusetts' school board members made by Neal Gross indicated that Massachusetts board members were spurred into public service by self-interest.[28] At least many of them were; Gross's findings and McCarty's findings were similar.

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[24] Arthur C. Muns, "A Study of Caucus Committee Procedure for Nominating Candidates for Boards of Education," (Unpublished D.Ed. dissertation, Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, 1961), p. 2.

[25] In Oak Park-River Forest Elementary District, Cook County, Illinois, a long established caucus committee has been challenged by another self-appointed caucus committee in recent elections. The competition for school board positions is exciting indeed, reaching near donnybrook proportions.

[26] In analysing data on a national sample of school districts, White found that 3.1 per cent of all districts in his sample relied on the caucus committee exclusively. In the northeastern part of the country, some 8.5 per cent of the board members were tabbed by caucus committees. Another 6 per cent were found to use the caucus committee plus other nominating methods. For details see Alpheus L. White, *Local School Boards: Organization and Practices* (U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1962), pp. 9-12.

[27] For an abstract of this study, see Donald J. McCarty, "School Board Membership: Why Do Citizens Serve?" *Administrator's Notebook*, VIII (September, 1959).

There are nearly 150,000 school board members in the United States. In their hands substantial decision-making power resides. As individuals some are liberal; some are conservative; some are selfishly motivated; some are altruistic. Some understand their responsibilities; some do not. As boards, they manifest different group behaviors, and it is difficult to generalize about them. The decision-making style varies from board to board and, from time to time, within boards as membership changes. Clearly, as the legitimizers of local district policy, school board members must be accorded prominence in the study of educational decision-making and in the appraisal of school district influence systems.

SITUATIONAL VARIABLES WHICH CONFOUND RESEARCH

Earlier in this chapter reference was made to the confusion surrounding use of the term "community" and to the extensive variation among school districts as local units of government. In future research into educational decision-making it seems important that these matters be incorporated into the thinking of those who would investigate these phenomena. There would seem to be a need for divesting ourselves of the term "community" influence systems, replacing this word with "school district" influence systems; the same would be true for "community" power structure, substituting "school district" power structure. Using new terms must be more than simple substitution; it should be an admission that the garden variety use of the term "community" does not serve our purpose.

Having cleaned up a bit of terminology, we are in a position to deal with other research considerations. Four of these are referred to in the remaining pages of this chapter.

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[28] Neal Gross, *Who Runs Our Schools?* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.), Chapter 7.

Need for Recognizing the Role of the State in Local School District Decision-Making

Campbell[illegible] described the folklore of local school control, and in more recent research at the University of Chicago, he has focused on further erosion in local decision-making through such "nationalizing" influences as the National Merit Scholarship Program, the National Science Foundation, the National Defense Education Act, and other national curriculum movements. If his observations are true—that the discretionary powers of local school boards are being reduced—the capacity of local influence systems to affect local decision-making is narrowed, except as local citizens tend to reinforce external, non-local pressure for decision.

Examining only state pressures or constraints in local decision-making, it is again obvious that state structures differ so markedly that comparisons of school districts among states are difficult. For example, local discretion in school districts serving Scarsdale, New York; Clayton, Missouri; Winnetka, Illinois; Edina-Morningside, Minnesota; Palo Alto, California; Shaker Heights, Ohio; and Grosse Pointe, Michigan, may vary considerably even though the populations in these municipalities may be somewhat homogeneous as to income, level of educational attainment, and life style. (There is no research to my knowledge on this point, but it might be worth investigating). Agger studied votes on kindergarten issues in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon. In school districts similar to these in pupil population in other states, decisions on kindergartens need not be carried to the voters. The school board can make basic program decisions of this nature. In still other circumstances, where kindergarten pupils are included in state aid programs, quite a different state of "political" affairs exists at the local district level. Therefore, to compare influence systems among school districts in different states, even though the districts would seem to be comparable in

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[illegible] Roald F. Campbell and Robert Bunnell, *Nationalizing Influences on Secondary Education* (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1963).

other ways, researchers should allow for variations in state structures.

Important differences among states appear in state provisions for financing education. These variations are important in making comparisons among school districts located in different states, to be sure, but they are also important in comparing districts within states. Districts which are much alike in terms of population characteristics may be quite unlike when compared on their capacities to support schools locally. In Minnesota "distressed" school districts can frequently keep pace with school building needs because of the availability of state aids for school construction or special dispensations of bond limits on school district indebtedness. Neighboring districts, much like the "distressed" districts, struggle under heavier school construction burdens. Their problem is essentially one of not being quite poor enough. The problem of voting bonds for new schools in the almost distressed districts is much more difficult than in those that are distressed. Likewise, there is considerable difference between groups in these school districts in how they view the schools. Anyone studying influence systems or school district power as it is related to educational decisions in a distressed district and a nearly distressed district would need to have a clear understanding of the fiscal circumstances of the districts and the differences in the relationships with the state between the two districts.

In summary, differences in local decision discretion among states as well as within states deserve attention. State aid programs to local districts seem to be particularly worthy of examination, and the same is true of state controls over curriculum, change, innovation, school calendar, summer schools, and things of like kind.

Need for School District Typology, Taxonomy, or Other Classification Scheme

Two rough systems for classifying school districts were described earlier in this chapter—one by scope of program and the other by geography. Neither of these two schemes is adequate, nor am I able to suggest what an adequate classification system is. My hunch is that an appropriate classification would have to account for these variables:

(1) degree of discretion available to the local school board;
(2) financial support pattern;
(3) geography;
(4) index of population nucleation;
(5) method of school board selection;
(6) bureaucratization of the school organization;
(7) socio-economic characteristics of the district's adult population;
(8) measure of transiency among the adult population;
(9) leadership style of the chief school officer;
(10) decision-making behavior of the local school board;
(11) posture of the mass media;
(12) posture of the district's special interest groups toward education;
(13) stance of religious groups toward the public schools.

Probably this enumeration by no means runs the gamut of important variables which distinguish local school districts in terms of influence systems or decision-making patterns. Many factors are not only difficult to assess, but they are changing—the views of the American Legion Posts locally may differ from district to district or may be different this year than they were last year, or five years ago. As Gross indicated on the basis of his study of Massachusetts school boards and superintendents, there is no clear-cut pattern of local interest group postures toward education.[39]

Need to Comprehend the Role of the Chief School Officer

There appears to be a tendency among sociologists and political scientists to underestimate the role of the chief school officer in local school politics. Bailey, in his study of school finance patterns in eight northeastern states, acknowledged the relationships between the quality of schoolmen's leadership and success in building bold, sound programs of state school aids:

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[39] Gross, *op. cit.*, Chapters 3 and 4.

> In most of the eight states under review, these structural, cultural, and political strengths and weaknesses have been found in almost random mixture. In such situations, the success of schoolmen has stemmed from their capacity to exploit the strengths and to correct or overcome the weaknesses which have existed. This capacity, in turn, has depended upon the quality of the schoolmen's leadership, their sense of the complex texture of decision-making in their particular political society, their sense of timing, and their sophisticated handling of the institutions and devices which had to be negotiated in the furthering of a policy objective.[illegible]

Bailey included a potpourri of schoolmen in his commentary; also he is referring to political behavior culminating in policy formulations at the state level. But his observations are equally relevant at the local district level. Few will deny that a Ben Willis or a Kenneth Oberholtzer or a Sidney Marland or a Herbert Schooling or a Forrest Conner or a Paul Misner or a Henry Gunn are, or were, the central educational policy-makers in their school districts. They are professional schoolmen, and at the same time they are superb politicians. Significantly enough, those just named are influential in their own school districts but are also powerful within the national school administrator group "power" structure.[illegible] As an aside these men represent large school districts and small school districts—Chicago with one-half million students to Glencoe, Illinois, Elementary School District with about two-thousand elementary youngsters enrolled.

The men named in the preceding paragraph are nationally known. But there are thousands of "lesser lights" performing in much the same way in districts of every ilk. The behavior of these men varies across the map from vigorous autocracy to smooth, well-oiled,

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[illegible] Stephen K. Bailey, Richard T. Frost, Paul E. Marsh, and Robert C. Wood, *Schoolmen and Politics*, The Economics and Politics of Public Education Series, No. 1 (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1962), p. 104.

[illegible] An account of the superintendent of schools as a line administrator in a large city is included in Wallace Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, *Governing New York City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960), pp. 279-285.

public relations oriented manipulation.[33] Some survive, some do not, but each in his own way fulfills a political role. The skill of superintendents in the shifting and blending of pressures among the board of education members, among central staff assistants, among line personnel, when sharply honed, is a thing of beauty.

Bailey argues that "the extent to which a state responds to a publicly recognized need is a function of very particular energies operating within a very specific context."[34] The statement would be as defensible if one were to substitute "school district" for "state." The capacity of the local school superintendent to comprehend the complexities of his school district's political environment and to marshall particular energies directed toward specific objectives is the key to his political success.

Thus far we have posited the chief school officer as an active policy-maker. He may not be in all situations. Indeed in many situations he may be perceived as a barrier to progress by school district leaders, school board members, as well as teachers and other administrators within the district. Because he occupies a strategic position, he must be reckoned with in local decision-making even if this simply means by-passing him in the decision process. Frequently there are situations where the job of the superintendent grows more rapidly than the man. In many of these cases teachers, parents, school board members, and others recognize the circumstances but for some reason are unable to take action. It may be a question of tenure, or it may be a matter of kindness to the gentle old "professor" who has given so generously to the district over a period of years. The people vitally concerned just cannot bring themselves to swing the axe. And

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[33] The power of the school superintendent is worthy of study itself. Four superintendents were observed for an eight-month period by four carefully selected graduate students at the University of Chicago in 1958-59. The observational data were analysed in several ways, but one analysis dealt with the interaction patterns of these four men. In terms of gross numbers of interactions with community reference groups, there was little difference among the four. The surprising finding was the limited interaction all four superintendents had with community reference groups. The superintendents were from a large industrial city, a smaller industrial school district, a residential suburb, and a rural county seat school district. For a description of this work see *Report of the 1958-59 Staff Associate Project* (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1959).

[34] Bailey, *loc. cit.*

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so from one end of the country to the other, school districts wait patiently on death or retirement to permit them to effect needed policy changes.

The point is a simple one: the office of the superintendent as well as the person who occupies the office ought to be central in the study of influence systems and local school district power structures.

Need for Understanding the Decision-making Behavior of School Boards

Anyone who observes many school boards and many school board meetings is impressed with the variation among boards, board members, and board meetings. At the same time one is struck by similarities. The presence of female board members seems to affect board meeting behavior in much the same way in most situations—the humor is different, the language used is different, the subcommittee structures are different than in all-male board meetings.

There are many interesting, and some important, aspects of school board life worthy of our concern: subtleties and by-play of in-meeting in-fighting; resort to endorsements; shifting responsibilities; the incidence of policy level, administrative level, and housekeeping decisions; relationships with the superintendent; relationships with the mass media; splits among board members; retreats to executive session; and the physical environment of school board meetings.

In Oregon, school boards must relate to budget committees (committees of five freeholders appointed by the boards) which help in the preparation of annual budgets. Although the budget committees cause boards anxieties at times, they also serve a useful purpose in spreading the decision base or in providing a scapegoat for unpopular budget decisions. In Illinois, where secondary school districts frequently overlie one or more elementary districts, each with independent boards and in most cases with independent administrative structures, school district decision-making is compounded. It is compounded by competition for the same tax base, by competition for men and women to serve on school boards, by the opportunities to shift the blame for this or that consequence to the other level, especially when bond referenda are defeated, and by the aggravations related to articulation problems between the two levels.[35]

Decision-making behavior of school boards can be explained in part by their flesh and blood composition, by their discretionary powers, by their internal organization, by the behavior of their superintendents, by their meeting places and times, by their community relations postures, by the competence of their chairmen, by their agenda-building practices, and by the number of meetings they hold.[36]

POST SCRIPT ON METHOD

As acknowledged earlier in this chapter much has been said about various approaches to the study of power, influence, and decision-making. Position, reputation, event-analysis—each of these has been debated. The literature contains criticisms of these approaches, and many writers see fit to take a few passing shots at the case method on the way by. The case method, it is argued, is too limited, it is too expensive and inefficient, and few marketable generalizations are possible. Partially influenced by Norton Long's ecology of games paper and partially because of less personal dissatisfaction with the case method than most people possess, I would make a strong bid for more intensive issue analyses conducted in case fashion. These should be made of educational issues within school districts and among school districts classified in some reasonably satisfactory way.

For example, I don't think anyone can really discover much about educational decision-making and influence systems in Minneapolis and in St. Paul without intensive field work in each of the Twin Cities. These are two quite different school districts. Each has its own unique charter-type relationship to the state; the superintendents are different in their behavior; St. Paul appears to have a pyramidal influence structure as far as its general influence structure is concerned, whereas Minneapolis seems to have a more pluralistic structure. Each school district has its own scheme for nominating candidates for the board, extra-legal in character. St. Paul has wealth concentrated in the hands of a few old-line families who feel little or no responsibility for improving St. Paul and its institutions in contrast to Minneapolis where wealth is more diffused but is in the hands of people who seem to have a deep commitment to community improvement.

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[35] In Park Forest, Illinois, where there are two school districts, the heat on school superintendents seems to shift from the elementary school superintendent to the high school superintendent in cyclical fashion. Junior executives (in the organization-man community) delight in venting their aggressions on school executives; it is a very big sport in Park Forest.

[36] The NEA Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, in investigating the Chicago school situation in the early 1940's, found that meetings were held in small quarters precluding space for visitors and meetings were conducted which were fifteen minutes in length. During these brief meetings hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of business was transacted and major decisions were made without debate or discussion.

Only through intensive field work involving extensive interviewing can the fabric of decision really be discerned. Apprehending the warp and comprehending the woof and weaving the threads are tasks of some magnitude. The mapping of influence systems is slow, laborious, painstaking work, but each new case is of great value—and even if it represents just one decision situation. Vidich and Bensman's chapter on school politics in *Small Town in Mass Society* is vibrant and full of the real stuff of village decision-making. Their account, which is purely descriptive, is insightful and meaningful to anyone who has lived or worked in similar settings.[37] Goldhammer's study of community power structure and school board membership[38] conducted in a school district similar although twice as large contains like but not identical findings. Differences may be due to methodology, or they may just be differences. Solon Kimball makes sense when he argues for a methodology that reveals the dynamics rather than the statics of community life. Further, Kimball supports event analysis in case fashion as an effective and efficient method for studying community decision behavior.[39]

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[37] Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958), Chapter 7.

[38] Keith Goldhammer, "Community Power Structure and School Board Membership" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1954).

[39] Solon T. Kimball and Marion Pearsall, "Event Analysis as an Approach to Community Study," *Social Forces*, XXXIV (1955), p. 63.

Chapter 3

THREE THEMES ON THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

by
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University of Hawaii

My assignment in this chapter is to analyse the activities of the research seminar on community decision-making which convened at the University of Oregon in August, 1963.[1] I accept this assignment in the belief that people who are interested in studying the politics of education in the local community will profit from one participant's analysis of the activities of the seminar.

Let me make it very clear at the outset that in undertaking this assignment I have not regarded myself as reporter and chronologist but instead as analyst and interpreter. I have not attempted to render a detailed issue-by-issue account of the history of the seminar. Instead I have analysed the activities of the seminar into three different component elements: (1) the dynamic point of view, (2) the nature and dynamics of community power, (3) the political value of political research. The main contention underlying this analysis is that these three elements, either explicitly or implicitly, functioned throughout the seminar as integrating themes which gave order and coherence to the discussion. Rather than narrate the "minutes" of the meeting, therefore, I shall proceed on the assumption that an account of the seminar and its approach to the politics of education in the local community is best rendered through an analysis of these three central thematic elements.[2]

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[1] The nature of this seminar and its relationship to the present book is discussed elsewhere in this volume. See Preface.

THE DYNAMIC POINT OF VIEW

The single most distinctive feature of the seminar was the overriding commitment of its membership to the *dynamic point of view* as a guide to theory and research in the study of community politics. From this point of view the participants assessed the existing stockpile of research in community politics, found it wanting in certain crucial respects, and agreed that future research must move in basically new directions if progress is to be made. What does the dynamic point of view entail?

In the young tradition of inquiry into community politics which has been taking shape during the past decade-and-a-half, the study of politics in the local community has been regarded essentially as the study of *power relationships* among individuals and groups in the community. The members of the seminar felt themselves to be very much a part of that tradition and therefore shared its fundamental concern with the study of power relationships. Looking back over the past fifteen years' accumulation of research on community power, however, they saw a basically unsatisfying, albeit rich and suggestive, history of *static descriptions* of community power relationships based upon equally static conceptions and methodologies. To be sure, they saw definite value in the study of *political statics*, but they felt that its value lay almost entirely in its tendency to raise challenging questions about *political dynamics*. Such questions, if satisfactorily answered, would generate inordinately more valuable kinds of information about community politics than had hitherto been developed. They therefore agreed that the time had come to move sharply away from the realm of static description and into the realm of *dynamic explanation* with all the problems of conception and research design which such a change of direction seemed to imply. To do otherwise, they felt, would be seriously to misuse resources–intellectual, organizational, and otherwise–which were already in terribly short supply.

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[2] Although all participants bear equal responsibility for the events which gave rise to this analysis, the responsibility for the analysis itself is unavoidably my own.

In what sense can previous research in community politics be regarded as primarily static and descriptive rather than dynamic and explanatory in import? Briefly, the central empirical significance of such studies has been to demonstrate, more or less successfully, the existence of specific *power structures*, i.e., discernible and unchanging patterns of power relationships characteristic of given communities during specific and usually relatively short periods of time. A few of these studies have actually been able to demonstrate the existence of similarities and differences among the power structures characteristic of two or more communities within the span of some common period of history.[3] Furthermore, the entire accumulation of studies in this field has given us many provocative cues about the ways in which power structures may be conceptualized, about possible dimensions in terms of which such structures might vary, and about techniques by means of which such variation might be empirically detected. These are no mean accomplishments for such a young tradition of inquiry.[4]

The upshot of this pioneering work in the study of community politics is that we now have very good reason for believing that community power structures may *vary* in interesting and discernible ways from community to community. If that can be believed, then we also have reason to expect that from one historical period to the next the power structures of given individual communities may very well *change*. That we are able to conclude so much speaks well for the work thus far accomplished in the field.

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[3] Studies in this field have been chiefly of two types: (1) case studies of individual communities; (2) comparative studies of small numbers of different communities. The comparative studies, because they have applied common dimensions of classification to power structures in two or more communities, have been able to *demonstrate* the existence of such similarities and differences. Even when viewed collectively, however, the case studies, since they have employed such a diversity of classificatory dimensions and techniques, have been able only to *suggest* the possible existence of such similarities and differences.

[4] The major theoretical and empirical contributions to this tradition are reviewed extensively elsewhere in this volume. See Chapter 1.

Yet it is precisely *because* of its classificatory and descriptive value that this tradition of research raises questions which are more challenging than those which it answers. To the student of community politics, the chief consequence of the discovery that community power relationships *may* vary and change is to whet his appetite to learn *why* such variations and changes take place and what *consequences* they have for other politically significant aspects of community life, such as policy, citizen satisfaction, and so forth. This interest in the causes and effects of alternative community power relationships is precisely the focus of the dynamic point of view when applied to the study of politics in the local community. While existing studies of community power relations both stimulate and structure our curiosity about political dynamics, they do very little to satisfy it. If we grant that the study of power relationships is the central issue in the study of politics—and I think that can be granted—then this tradition of inquiry is very much to the political point. Nevertheless, it is still very much a tradition of the description of static political conditions—power structures—and not one of the dynamic explanation of variable and changing political conditions. In the light of this review of the literature of community politics, the members of the seminar inclined to the conclusion that, in the future, research in community politics should be much more clearly designed to satisfy rather than to incite their curiosity about political dynamics.

Inquiry into community politics could best accomplish this objective, they felt, if it were to proceed from frames of reference whose central concepts were themselves dynamic in significance. With this in mind they agreed that the static concept of power "structure" should be deprived of its status as a basic unit of analysis and replaced by the more dynamic concepts of political "system" and political "process." To the members of the seminar, "structure" connoted nothing so much as timeless stasis, while "system" and "process" bespoke timeful change.

In the context of the seminar, the community political system was regarded as a collection of interdependent elements and variables capable of change over time. Within this frame of reference, elements are "things" which are capable of variation in space and time, e.g., personalities, relationships among personalities, policies, groups, and so forth. Variables, in turn, are dimensions in terms of which elements may vary; e.g., personalities may be more or less aggressive, interpersonal relationships may be more or less cooperative, policies may be more or less conservative, groups may more or less be highly organized, and so on. Such are the main components of the political system. Its hallmark, however, is a postulated *interdependence among elements* such that variation in one or more elements is expected to generate variation in one or more other elements and hence to evoke different "states of the system" from time to time.

The term "process," in turn, connotes changing states of the political system. It refers to concrete sequences of events which fall into discernible stages, each such stage representing a particular state of the system, the entire "process" portraying a pattern of system variation over time. While both "system" and "process" are dynamic concepts and are intimately related to one another, they differ in one important respect. "Process" is a *descriptive* construct, while "system" is an *explanatory* one. "Process" describes changes in states of the political system. These changes are themselves explained as consequences of lawful causal relationships among the elements of the system itself.

It is important to note that, from the point of view of the political system, power relationships represent only one kind of element, albeit one of central interest to the analyst, which might be contained in the system and whose patterns of change over time might figure in the portrayal of the political process. Elements whose variations function either as causes or consequences, or as both causes and consequences, of alternating power relationships may be included as well. Indeed, the "boundaries" of the political system may vary between narrow and broad extremes, provided that power relationships are always included in order to warrant designation of the system as a specifically *political* one. How broad or narrow its boundaries actually are depends upon what sorts of variation and change the analyst is interested in recording and explaining and upon what sorts of variation and change he regards as potentially capable of affording the explanations he seeks.

The application of the dynamic point of view to the study of community politics has not only conceptual but also methodological implications. Not only must the analyst try to develop dynamic political concepts, but he must be sure to employ them in connection with research designs which are adequate to the task of isolating *causal relationships* among elements of the political system. The logic of causal analysis has it that a particular causal relationship may be said to obtain between two elements, A and B, when it can be shown that a specific change in A is succeeded by a specific change in B within some period of time during which other elements, changes in which might reasonably be expected to produce changes in B, remain unchanged. I think that all or most of the participants in the seminar would concur in these logical pre-requisites for the attribution of causality.

Be that as it may, they collectively took the view that a variety of designs might be fitted to these logical requirements with a sufficiently high degree of approximation to warrant their use. Individual preferences among designs to be worked out in the near future ranged between the relatively simple longitudinal case study and the much more complex multi-community comparative longitudinal study. These extremes may be regarded as lying at opposite ends of a continuum along which two crucial variables, the ability of the design to control for extraneous variation and the quantity of resources required for the execution of the design, vary directly together. Generally speaking, the more powerfully a design controls for extraneous effects, the more immense the resources required for its execution. Doubtless most of the members of the seminar would like nothing better than to design and execute large-scale comparative longitudinal studies *if only* the enormous investment of organizational and financial resources entailed by such studies were feasible or even possible. Meanwhile, however, they inclined toward a strategy of scientific opportunism. This strategy requires the continued effort to develop the most powerful designs which resources permit, always weighing the value of such designs against the logical requirements of causal analysis. It also requires that continued efforts be made—especially organizational efforts aimed at pooling resources—to expand the resource base on which research in community politics can draw. With a little luck, as increased resources become available, much more powerful comparative designs can be conceived and carried out, and correspondingly greater additions to our understanding of political dynamics in the local community can be recorded.

THE NATURE AND DYNAMICS OF COMMUNITY POWER

Under this heading I want to try to develop a picture of the way in which the members of the seminar conceived of community power relations and of the way in which they expected such relationships to be dynamically interconnected with other elements of the community political system. The proper development of such a picture requires me to identify: (1) the *meaning* of "community political power" as construed by the participants; (2) the variable *forms* of community power relations which seemed to the participants to invite dynamic analysis; (3) the ways in which the participants thought that community power relations should be *specified* for purposes of comparative research; (4) the way in which the idea of power *structure* fitted into the participants' overall conception of community power relations; (5) the several kinds of system elements which the participants expected to be dynamically connected with community power relations either as *causes* or *consequences* or both. The nature and dynamics of community power, as seen by the members of the seminar, involved at least these five components. Let me now examine each of them in turn.

The Concept of Community Political Power

Underlying the seminar's concern with community power relations was the conception of "community political power" as a variable in terms of which individuals and aggregates of individuals might be differentiated *quantitatively* according to how *effectively* they *participate* in the making of *public policy* for a community. Within this frame of reference, public policies are policies which are promulgated and/or implemented by public officials in the name of the entire community. Participation in public policy-making, in turn, involves engaging in activities which are motivated by the desire to have some effect on such policy. Finally, if they are to confer power on their authors, such activities must indeed have some effect on the resolution of the policy question to which they are addressed. To make a long story short, the more effectively one participates in public policy-making in the community, the more powerful he is.

Distributions of Community Political Power

If we grant that community political power is something in terms of which individuals may be quantitatively differentiated, then it is meaningful to think of community power relations vis-à-vis particular policy outcomes as distributions of political power among the members of the community. From this point of view the dynamic analysis of community political systems turns on the identification of the causes and consequences of alternative distributions of community power. If so, then the next order of business is to determine what kinds of variation in community power distributions are most deserving of dynamic analysis. To the members of the seminar, two related but distinct ways of differentiating among power distributions seemed to be most inviting in this respect.

First of all one might distinguish among distributions of power according to the relative equality (or inequality) of the amounts of power attributable in such distributions to otherwise undifferentiated individuals. One can imagine a continuum extending between an extreme of equality, in which all members of the community exercise nearly equivalent amounts of power, and an extreme of inequality, in which nearly "total" power is exercised by one or a few individuals, the great bulk of the population exercising no power whatever. Along this continuum one may be interested in discriminating a very large number of different power distributions in terms of the "degree" to which they reveal equality (or inequality). Or one may be interested only in distinguishing a relatively small number of different types of power distributions, attaching to each type a name which is indicative of the proportion of the population which in that type exercises some relatively great amount of power. One such scheme of types, for example, is suggested by the terms "autocracy," "oligarchy," "majoritarian democracy," and "consensual democracy."[5] Another such scheme might simply distinguish between distributions of power which are notable for their "elites and masses" and those which are notable for the absence of the disparities which such terms suggest. Many different typological schemes of this kind might be developed and exploited in the study of community power, depending upon the degree of refinement with which the analyst wants to differentiate among power distributions in terms of relative equality in the amounts of power exercised by diverse individuals.

The second major way in which power distributions might be differentiated is in terms of relative equality (or inequality) in the amounts of *cumulative* individual power which are attributable to *aggregates* of individuals who have been classified with respect to one or more social characteristics. What happens here is that the analyst divides the membership of the community into two or more social aggregates which are of interest to him, somehow cumulates the power of the individual members of such aggregates to arrive at aggregate totals, and then distinguishes among distributions of community power in terms, say, of the degree to which (if at all) they reveal "domination" by one or another aggregate or combination of aggregates. Some illustrative sets of aggregates which might be employed in this way are: "working-class/middle-class/upper-class," "government officials/businessmen/others," "politicians/administrators/others," "economic notables/social notables/political notables/others," and so forth more or less endlessly depending upon what sorts of aggregates are of primary interest to the analyst.

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[5] In the autocracy, for example, one person exercises an exceptionally large amount of power, and there is substantially less variation in power *among* the remaining members of the community than there is *between* the remaining members and the autocrat. In the oligarchy, in turn, a relatively small number of individuals exercise exceptional amounts of power when compared to the remaining many who differ little among themselves as far as power is concerned. On the other hand, the majoritarian democracy presents a situation in which the majority of the population exercises amounts of power substantially in excess of that exercised by members of the minority, while in the consensual democracy no one exercises extraordinary amounts of power since everyone exercises substantially the same amount.

The participants in the seminar revealed a collective interest in each of these two basic modes of variation among distributions of community power. Specific preferences and priorities, however, varied. While some members seemed primarily interested in the "democratic/non-democratic" continuum or were interested simply in distinguishing between "oligarchic" and "democratic" distributions, others were oriented chiefly toward examining variations in the relative amounts of power attributable to diverse social aggregates. Even among those members who shared this latter perspective, furthermore, there were differences with respect to the kinds of social aggregates in terms of which alternative power distributions ought to be characterized. While some were primarily concerned with the relative power attributable to different economic classes or different status groups, others thought it important to focus special attention upon differences in amounts of power attributable to school administrators and elected school officials relative to each other and to other elements in the community.[6]

The Specification of Community Power Distributions

As was pointed out earlier in this volume several students of community power, especially those identified with the "pluralist" school of thought, have drawn attention to the misleading character of descriptions of community power relations which fail to *specify* the particular policy-making area or areas—"scope" or "scopes"—with respect to which power assessments are made.[7] In research designs aimed at studying the dynamics of community power, therefore, care should be taken to see that observed inter- or intra-community differences and similarities in community power relations refer to distributions of power vis-à-vis comparable "scopes."

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[6] To a very great extent these individual differences with regard to preferred ways of characterizing alternative distributions of community power reflect individual differences in social and political values, a phenomenon which is discussed in substantial detail later on in this chapter.

[7] See Chapter 1.

Given the seminar's primary focus on the dynamics of community power *within the scope of educational policy-making*, its attention to the problem of specifying power distributions according to scope was quite limited. It was acknowledged, of course, that comparisons among distributions of power even within the scope of educational policy would have to utilize comparable definitions of that scope, but otherwise this problem was felt to be of negligible concern to the seminar.

Even within the scope of educational policy, however, the participants seemed to acknowledge at least two different ways in which power distributions might require specification before meaningful comparisons can be made. Power distributions relative to community educational policy might first of all require specification according to the *inclusiveness of the policy-making process* in terms of which assessments of power are made. This mode of specification can be illustrated by noting two possible levels of inclusiveness and indicating their comparative significance for the assessment of distributions of power. One analyst might choose to limit power assessment to an analysis of the way in which relatively full-blown community "issues" are resolved. He then attributes power to individuals on the basis of their effects on the resolution of such issues. A second analyst, however, might choose to expand the analysis to include not only the process of *issue-resolution* but that of *issue-definition* as well. He may think it is just as important to identify those who are more or less effective in determining what issues require resolution as it is to identify those who determine how such issues are resolved once they are defined. After all, the power to "propose" may be at least equally as important a form of power as the power to "dispose" and, furthermore, these two forms of power may very well be quite differently distributed in the community. Comparisons of distributions of power based on two such diverse conceptions of the inclusive limits of the policy-making process could be quite misleading. Care should therefore be taken to specify power distributions by indicating just how inclusive these limits are in each instance.

The second way in which power distributions may call for specification is according to the *levels of policy* to which they relate.

One might, for example, distinguish between "legislative" and "administrative" levels of policy. From one analytical perspective the assessment of power might take the form of identifying individuals who are more or less effective participants in the determination of what kinds of policies are legislatively symbolized, i.e., formally adopted and incorporated into a legal code. Another perspective might focus instead on the distribution of power vis-à-vis the practical implementation of such policies at the administrative level. In any given community, distributions of power relative to these two levels of policy formation might differ markedly. One should therefore be careful to specify the level or levels of policy with respect to which attributions of power are made if misleading comparisons between power distributions relative to different levels of policy are to be avoided.

Power Distributions and Power Structures

How does the idea of "power structure" fit into the seminar's overall conception of community power relations? Earlier in this chapter I drew attention to the inclination of the members of the seminar to set aside "power structure" as a basic unit of analysis and to resort instead to such concepts as "system" and "process." This is not to say, however, that community power relations susceptible to designation as "power structures" were not expected ever empirically to occur. It is rather to argue that the presence of "power structures" in community politics should be regarded as being *empirically problematical* rather than necessary and self-evident. The point is simply that community power relations may qualify for designation as "power structures" in particular instances or they may not.

Within this frame of reference, distributions of community power may be regarded as relatively "short-run" conditions pertaining to the making of policy within comparatively short segments of historical time. Within any such brief segment of time the distribution of power in a community (specified according to "scope," "level of policy," and "inclusiveness" as already mentioned) may reveal a certain shape, i.e., "democratic," "oligarchic," and so forth. As the community moves forward through time, the analyst, laying these brief time segments end-to-end, can observe the extent to which (if at all) the distribution of power varies from segment to segment. If, over some "sufficiently" long period of time, no changes are recorded, then it can be said that the community displayed a particular "power structure" during that period of time. If, however, during the same period of time there were appreciable changes in the distribution of community power, then it would have to be concluded either that there was *no power structure* operative in the community during that period or at least that power in the community was *less structured* than it might otherwise have been. The question of the conditions under which distributions of community power succeed in becoming or fail to become power structures with the passage of time is, of course, simply a special way of considering the general question of the conditions under which distributions of community power change.[8]

The Dynamics of Community Power

Perhaps this picture of the way in which the members of the seminar conceived of power distributions in the community might best be rounded out by briefly indicating what kinds of dynamic political relationships seemed to the participants to be most deserving of attention. This involves indicating something about the way in which the seminar dealt with the question of the *causes* and *consequences* of alternative distributions of community power.

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[8] The general question of the degree to which various alternative kinds of power relations are likely to be stable over time is an extremely interesting question but one which was *not* examined by the seminar. Nevertheless, it may deserve brief mention here. The question may be put in a variety of ways. Are some kinds of power relations generally more stable than others? Are there some power distributions which have a better chance than others of becoming power "structures"? Are there some kinds of power relations, as Aristotle might have put it, which are somehow "inherently" more subject to change than others, such that certain "natural" evolutionary sequences can be established? Or, in the language of cause-and-effect analysis, are there some power distributions the conditions for whose change are themselves less likely to occur (for various reasons) in experience than are the conditions under which other kinds of power distributions undergo change? The seminar didn't raise this question but limited itself instead to attempts to identify conditions under which power distributions are likely to undergo change without attempting to suggest whether such conditions are themselves more or less likely to occur.

I shall deal with the question of the *causes* of community power distributions only to the extent of pointing out that nearly every other chapter in the present volume is devoted more or less exclusively to identifying one or more factors which might reasonably be expected to generate, or to contribute to the generation of, alternative distributions of power in the community. This is especially true for Chapter 2 and Chapters 4 through 10. Suffice it to say here only that the number and variety of the factors suggested for this role by the participants were and are enormous. Close analysis may make it possible to arrange these factors into a limited set of clusters or types, and it would undoubtedly be useful to do precisely that. However, such a task exceeds the intended scope of this chapter.[9]

Turning to the question of the *consequences* of community power for other aspects of community life, primary attention was focused by the members of the seminar on the consequences of community power distributions for *policy*—especially, of course, for educational policy. If power is "effective participation in the making of public policy," then distributions of power are clearly important factors in the determination of community policy. From the point of view of the seminar, however, it is equally clear that distributions of power are not *direct* determinants of policy. Instead, particular distributions of power are expected to generate particular kinds of policies only in interaction with particular distributions of *policy preferences* among the wielders of power. The working hypothesis relative to this interaction between distributions of power and preferences, respectively, is simply that the greater the power attributable to members of the community who espouse a given policy preference, the greater the likelihood that a policy consistent with that preference will be promulgated and/or implemented. Or, to put it otherwise, the kind of policy that is adopted in any particular instance depends directly on the kind of policy preferred by the powerful.

Probably all of this is obvious. Yet, no matter how obvious it is when stated in the way that I have stated it, it may deserve emphasis if for no other reason than to provide a corrective for the much less obvious but quite frequently accepted assumption that particular kinds of power distributions are somehow necessarily advantageous (or disadvantageous) for certain kinds of policy. In some circles, for example, there is a tendency to assume that relatively "undemocratic" power relations necessarily work against the adoption of certain kinds of innovations in the community's educational system, whereas relatively "democratic" power relations somehow "naturally" work in favor of their adoption. Such assumptions can be quite misleading. Undemocratic power relations will generate policies consistent with the preferences of powerful minorities. Democratic power relations will give rise to policies consistent with the preferences of powerful majorities. Yet in each situation preferences may be distributed in precisely the way that is necessary for the adoption of the same policy. It follows that if we are interested in linking community power to community policy, we shall have to take pains to identify the preferences of the powerful, and if we want to understand the dynamics of community *policy*, we shall have to investigate the dynamics not only of community *power relations* but of community *preferences* as well. What this necessarily implies is that the study of changing community values, interests, ideologies, and other potential determinants of policy preferences is a necessary component of any research designed to explain temporal shifts in community policy.

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[9] An exemplary attempt to group a multiplicity of such factors under a small number of different headings is undertaken by Professor Scoble in Chapter 6.

The participants' concern with the consequences of community power distributions did not end with their interest in the determination of public policy. They were interested, too, in the effects of different distributions of power on such things as the levels of psychological well-being enjoyed by community members, on the capacity of the community to define and solve community "problems," and on a host of other politically relevant factors. Finally, their dynamic image of the evolving political "system" led them to expect community power relations to be involved in any number of complex reciprocal relationships with other aspects of community life giving rise, over time, to equally complex evolutionary sequences in which the power relations operative in one time period may themselves establish the conditions for future changes in power relations.

To suggest only one example of such a complex evolutionary sequence, one might find that an initial distribution of power, interacting with a particular distribution of policy preferences, generates a policy which itself generates citizen discontent which, in turn, produces marked increases in participation in policy-making and consequently an entirely new distribution of power. Once community policy has been altered, however, and citizen discontent allayed, power relations may return to their initial form until once again disturbed by increases in citizen participation. Similar examples could be multiplied endlessly. Any such example would be representative of the kinds of analysis to which the seminar's commitment to the dynamic point of view in the study of community politics gives rise.

THE POLITICAL VALUE OF POLITICAL RESEARCH

In addition to its concern with political dynamics and specifically with the nature and dynamics of community power, a third and final noteworthy characteristic of the seminar was the tendency of its members to set priorities for theory and research heavily, if not exclusively, on the basis of their own individual political values. Throughout the seminar the participants appeared either alternately or simultaneously in two distinct but complementary roles. They appeared, on the one hand, as *social scientists* wedded to the intellectual and scholarly values inherent in the traditional ethic of American social science. Yet they also continually revealed themselves as *political men* intent on the pursuit of specifically political values. As social scientists they sought knowledge of community politics *for its own sake*. As political men, however, they sought such knowledge as a *basis for political action.* Their commitment to social scientific perspectives was certainly important in directing their activities at the seminar. Had they brought some different collection of political perspectives with them to the seminar, however, those activities would just as certainly have taken a different direction than that which they actually took.

Each participant in the seminar, considered in his aspect as citizen or political man, regarded some states of political affairs as being more desirable than others. The participants differed among themselves as to the kinds of political conditions which they individually regarded as being intrinsically most desirable, although these differences were probably less contradictory than they were complementary. The members differed, furthermore, in terms of the extent to which they wanted to develop political knowledge of a kind that would have more or less direct utility as a guide to political action aimed at achieving desirable political conditions. It was within this context of shared and unshared political values that the deliberations of the seminar took shape. How did this value context influence the work of the seminar?[10]

In the first place, of course, the generally felt need to develop knowledge about political dynamics represents an expression of the participants' specific needs to identify the conditions under which *desirable* states of political affairs can best be achieved and maintained. Both as social scientists and as political men, the conferees regarded the existing accumulation of classificatory and descriptive knowledge about community politics with extreme discontent born of awakened but unsatisfied curiosity. As far as the social scientist is concerned, such discontent is a natural enough response to the fact that the development of dynamic explanatory knowledge has been, at least since Aristotle, a traditionally recognized objective of social scientific inquiry. For the political man, on the other hand, such discontent rests on the equally evident fact that even the richest accumulation of knowledge about political statics offers no really satisfying criteria for political action. In a nutshell, to know that various more or less desirable political situations have existed or may exist is neither to understand theoretically *why* such situations exist nor to know *how* to devise effective political strategies for bringing them into existence.

In the second place the political values of the participants encouraged them to select particular *kinds of political change* for special attention. In this case differences in the value perspectives of the participants generated corresponding differences in patterns of selection. I think it is possible to identify two broadly different orientations in terms of which the members of the seminar were divided in this respect. For the sake of brevity let me refer to these two kinds of participants, respectively, as the *policy-oriented* and the *power-oriented.*

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[10] The general problem of the role of values in social research and its implications for research in the politics of education in the local community are examined in Chapter 11 of this volume.

The policies at issue in the seminar were, of course, educational policies. Within this frame of reference the *policy-oriented* members were those whose primary *political* interest lay in helping to secure the adoption of what they regarded as desirable educational policies for American communities. Their primary *social scientific* interest, in turn, lay in understanding the conditions under which the adoption of such policies would be more or less likely. They were concerned, to be sure, with the study of community power relations. This concern, however, was based chiefly on the premise that community power relations function as key determinants of community policy and should therefore figure prominently in any adequate theory of policy adoption and in any strategy for political action which is aimed at effecting desirable changes in policy. To make a long story short, the distinctive characteristic of the policy-oriented participant was his concern with power relations, not as ends-in-themselves, but instead as instrumentalities for policy.

The distinctive characteristic of the *power-oriented* participant, on the other hand, was his concern with community power relations as ends-in-themselves. His *political* interest lay in helping to generate and sustain what he regarded as desirable distributions of power in American communities. His *social scientific* interest, in turn, lay in understanding the conditions under which such distributions of power are more or less likely to occur whatever their consequences for policy might be. Generally speaking, the power-oriented members of the seminar were strongly inclined to favor relatively "democratic" power relations and, therefore, to be primarily interested in identifying factors which function either to facilitate or to obstruct the development and maintenance of democracy in American communities. They were by no means oblivious to questions of educational policy. Nevertheless, their main interest lay in studying the dynamics of democracy, and they felt no very strong need to justify this interest in terms of the consequences of democracy for policy.

This is not to say that the power-oriented conferees had no educational policy preferences or that the policy-oriented conferees had no preferences vis-à-vis community power relations. It is certainly not to say that the policy-oriented were "undemocratic" or that the power-oriented were disinterested in the adoption by American communities of improved educational systems. It is merely to indicate differences in emphasis which are probably much more complementary than they are contradictory. There are certainly some power relations "costs" which the policy-oriented person would not want to pay in exchange for the adoption of desirable educational policies no matter how desirable they seem to be when considered outside their political context. In the same sense there are certainly some policy "costs" which the power-oriented person would not want to pay in exchange for power relations which he regards as abstractly desirable.[11] As a matter of fact, as far as the participants in the seminar are concerned, it may very well be that both the power-oriented and the policy-oriented, if confronted with a range of choices of this kind, would make very much the same "cost" calculations. None of this, however, denies the basic point that these two orientations were abroad in the seminar and played a distinctive role in determining the kinds of questions to which the participants thought first attention should be given in the study of community politics.

Finally, among both policy- and power-oriented members of the seminar, there were notable differences in the degree to which individual participants wished to emphasize the development of the kind of information about political dynamics which would have more or less immediate utility as a guide to political action. As far as some participants were concerned, given any two factors expected to have equal causal significance for community power or policy, it is just as important to investigate one factor as it is to investigate the other. Confronted with the same situation, however, other participants would be strongly inclined to attach first priority to the investigation of that factor which could be regarded as being most susceptible, in the comparatively short-run, to *manipulation and control* by means of concerted goal-directed action by relatively small numbers of like-minded people. If a participant of this latter sort did have any interest in relatively *non*-manipulable factors, his attention would generally be limited to their aspects as conditions affecting the operation of more manipulable factors. To suggest only one example, "community size" and "role perception of the school superintendent" may be expected by the analyst to be equally weighty determinants either of community power relations vis-à-vis educational policy or of community policy itself. The "impractical" political theorist may have little to choose between the two. The "practical" political actionist, on the other hand, may easily prefer to commit his resources to the investigation of the "role perception" factor simply on the assumption that rational manipulation of superintendents' role perceptions is far more feasible than manipulation of community size. Knowledge of the political significance of such factors is clearly of much greater political utility, at least in the short-run, than is knowledge of the political significance of factors which are less amenable to rational manipulation in the pursuit of political goals.

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[11] For example, no matter how beneficial the policy-oriented person thinks that a particular educational policy would be to the members of the community, he may not want to see it adopted by a dominant oligarchical clique "over the dead bodies" of a large but politically impotent majority. Nor may the power-oriented "democrat" support any democratically adopted educational policy no matter how horrendous it appears when viewed from the perspective of his own educational policy values.

SUMMARY AND PROSPECT

In this chapter I have tried to indicate something about three different aspects of the seminar: (1) the nature and implications, conceptual and methodological, of the dynamic point of view from which the members of the seminar were inclined to approach the study of the politics of education in the local community: (2) the ways in which the participants conceived of the nature and dynamics of community power relations: (3) the ways in which the social scientific, and especially the political, values of the participants led them not only to adopt a generally dynamic point of view but also to favor particular strategies for theory and research even within this dynamic frame of reference.

In its main contours the seminar represents a statement of the goals toward whose achievement existing resources should be allocated and in whose name new resources should be sought. Research in community politics operates in a context of sharply limited resources with little prospect for future affluence. Intellect, organization, energy, time, cash—all are scarce. Such as they are, they can be exploited on behalf of an infinite variety of theoretical and political objectives. What should these objectives be? What are the most important problems to which the study of politics and education in the local community should be addressed if these objectives are to be achieved? What are the most fruitful approaches to the solution of those problems? There are no easy answers for these questions. Perhaps, however, the proceedings of the seminar, as those proceedings are reflected in the present volume, may afford at least the beginnings of answers to them.

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SECTION TWO

Approaches

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Introduction to Section Two

The chapters in this section, together with Chapter 2, served initially as both seminar papers and as points of departure for extended seminar discussions. Each chapter, by calling attention to particular kinds of concepts and methods of inquiry, represents a distinctive approach to the study of the politics of education in the local community. Moreover, since each chapter is concerned directly with the dynamics of community power relationships, each offers a unique contribution to our understanding of the impact of community politics on educational organization and policy.

For all their distinctiveness, the chapters in this section convey a promising impression of convergence on central themes. It is as though each were focused on a single quartz crystal, but each on a slightly different face, through a slightly different lens, and from a slightly different vantage point. Collectively they represent a set of mutually reinforcing guidelines for the future development of research in community politics and education.

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Chapter 4

COMMUNITY DECISION PROCESSES: RESEARCH STRATEGIES

by
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The past decade has witnessed a new surge of interest on the part of both political scientists and sociologists in community power structure and community decision-making. Observable trends in this area of research are now developing, and two schools of thought regarding methodological approaches have clearly emerged.[1] The next decade may see a resolution of differences, for the new phase in the development of community studies is the formulation of testable hypotheses and theories applied to comparative communities.[2]

Comparative studies may offer the opportunity to see if one method is superior to all other methods in all instances, although a study designed solely for just such a test appears to be a doubtful enterprise. However, it could be a valuable concomitant project in some comparative study in the near future. A suggestion by Rossi could be accepted and developed, i.e., that it would be worthwhile "to find out under what conditions each technique provides the most fruitful approach to the study of community decision-making, and to assimilate these techniques into broader methodological schemes."[3]

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[1] See Chapter 1.

[2] Peter H. Rossi, "Theory and Method in the Study of Power in the Local Community" (A paper presented to the 1960 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, August, 1960). Rossi points out two weaknesses of community studies to this date. He states that the studies are rarely comprehensive and there have been few generalizations and no theories. In this paper he presents a tentative theory which he hopes will be put to the test.

The different methodologies have their own champions. Allegiance is surprisingly strong, and the protagonists, who have chosen the professional journals as their "field of honor," appear to offer no quarter. They see a "pure" method and do not admit that either compromise or eclecticism is possible. A more detached point of view might see methodology only as the tools and techniques to use in an area of investigation, and thus one should let the nature of the problem dictate the method to be used.

This chapter hopes to develop the latter point of view by discussing briefly the different techniques and then showing how one method, used in the context of community educational systems, would be a useful approach. An attempt is made to take into account the unique aspects of public education as an area where much of the decision-making is at the community level with many extra-community influences brought to bear upon it. The proposed approach would be feasible in educational systems of other countries and would thus make comparative studies possible. An example of a potential study drawn from the current Canadian educational scene is presented to illustrate the applicability of the suggested strategy.

CURRENT TECHNIQUES

Three main techniques used in the study of community decision-making have been listed and assessed by Rossi.[4] He considers all of them variations of the sociometric technique first devised by Moreno in the 1930's. These techniques are:

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[3] Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision-Making," in Roland Young (ed.), *Approaches to the Study of Politics* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1958).

[4] Peter H. Rossi, "Theory and Method in the Study of Power in the Local Community," *op. cit.*

1. *Mass sociometry:* The community, or a representative sample, is surveyed to find who is perceived to have the reputation of power and influence in community decision-making.

2. *Elite sociometry:* Individuals who are "knowledgeable" in some area of community activity are asked to nominate those who are perceived to have power or influence.

3. *Decision sociometry:* Those who shared in the resolution of a community decision report on the influence exerted by others in the decision. This is the issue-analysis approach.

The first two techniques are sufficiently similar to be considered the "reputational approach" as opposed to the third technique known as the "issue-analysis approach." These are considered to be the two methods which have generated so much controversy. The basic assumptions are the same for all three techniques according to Rossi, namely, (1) that power and influence relationships exist among individuals so that specific individuals will influence and hold power over other specific individuals; (2) that the individuals involved are able to supply information about these relationships; and (3) that influence and power as perceived by others can be objectively measured in an empirical manner.

These three techniques are relevant to our problem of assessing decision-making in public education. Mass sociometry has been used successfully to study public attitudes toward the schools and voting behavior in school elections. However, its usefulness is limited when there has been little public participation in such school issues as budgeting, personnel, or curriculum change. If we wish to proceed in studies of this nature, this technique will provide the entry into a study by giving an overall perspective of the community, the nature of the power structure, and the web of interrelationships that exist among such systems in the community. The survey technique provides supplemental information and new insights into problems, but it may not prove the best single technique to use. It does, however, provide the opportunity for sound research design, statistical analysis, and sound sampling procedures. In most research the ubiquitous cost factor is important, and this technique is probably the most expensive procedure for data gathering.

Elite sociometry has certain advantages in the study of public education. Much of the power and influence brought to bear on school matters by groups and individuals is not widely diffused throughout the community. It is necessary to make use of informants or "knowledgeables" who have some contact with the central institution. This is the "Hunter technique" and should be an effective method within the area of education where the "decision-making machinery is more structured."[5] The data for this type of study are more qualitatively assessed, but the technique does make it possible for a small group of researchers to undertake a project.

The third technique has been used and probably proven most effective in the study of school decision-making. It has opened up a whole new area of methodology for individuals doing doctoral dissertations, for it lends itself well to a "one man study." This is decision sociometry, which attempts to assess the actual power of influence wielded in connection with specific issues. Its chief weaknesses may be its subjectivity and qualitative measures rather than quantitative assessments which should be made. Secondly, it makes comparable studies difficult, for each study tends to be based on a research design specific to the issue or the institution. Rossi favors this technique and states, "The decision sociometry approach is immensely more productive of insights into the processes of leadership and power than either mass or elite sociometry."[6] However, the brief foregoing assessments would not justify one, and only one, of these techniques being used. Using a combination of two or all could make a study much more comprehensive and improve greatly on its validity.

THE CONTROVERSY OVER TECHNIQUE

A brief review of the controversy which has surrounded the main methodologies, namely, the "reputational approach" versus the "issue-analysis approach," is required for any discussion on the topic of community decision-making. The weaknesses of the former technique have recently been pointed out by Wolfinger, who is representative of the "Dahl-issue-analysis school of thought."[7] He questions first whether the "reputation for power" is an adequate index to measure the actual power distribution and, secondly, if the perception of respondents has such accuracy that community leaders can be ranked. If so, is this necessarily a meaningful description of a political system? Further problems arise in the use of this method, he contends, such as the problems of ambiguity, prevalence of misperception, and the inutility of influence ranking. Each of these weaknesses is elaborated by Wolfinger, and each in turn is refuted by H. J. Ehrlich who is representative of the "Hunter-reputational-approach school of thought."[8]

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[5] Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision-Making," *op. cit.*, p. 1.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Probably Ehrlich's interpretation of Wolfinger's argument is sufficient to dismiss the controversy as unproductive for furthering the cause of better methodology. According to Ehrlich, about all the Wolfinger thesis amounts to is, if one wants more information than what the "reputational approach" design will yield, then one must do more research.[9]

For the sake of academic argument, it is necessary for the protagonists to keep their methodology pure and their lines of battle clear cut. However, it is most apparent that the dilemma they pose is on the level of an either-or choice. This need not be, for the solution lies in a use of both techniques in appropriate ways on the same problem. Parts of each method could be used so that the best of each would contribute to an eclectic design. If a single design were not essential, both methods could be adopted simultaneously and would serve as a validity check. This dual approach has been used extensively in Oregon studies. For instance, Agger and Goldrich reported as early as 1958 that by using two methods there was found to be considerable similarity between the lists of community leaders drawn up by citizens and by a group of leaders.[10]

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[7] Raymond Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of 'Community Power,'" *American Sociological Review*, XXV (October, 1960), pp. 636-644.

[8] H. J. Ehrlich, "The Reputational Approach to the Study of Community Power," *American Sociological Review*, XXVI (December, 1961), pp. 926-927.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 927.

A balanced view of the place of issue analysis and mass sociometry is presented by Janowitz in a review of Dahl's book *Who Governs?*[11] He takes exception to Dahl's ready dismissal of the reputational approach as a technique for locating community leaders. The best way to "trace out the informal and communication links of political power" is through the use of mass sociometric techniques because this is the best way to get at the social system of informal social contacts and participation in voluntary organizations. Janowitz also recommends an approach which combines both methods in order to study the total community. No new techniques have been introduced recently, so the problem is to combine the present techniques for maximum effectiveness.

THE SCHOOL ARENA OF DECISION-MAKING

The educational system of a community, viewed as an arena of decision-making, has characteristics somewhat different from other arenas such as public health, social welfare, or municipal affairs. The role of the state or provincial department of education is dominant in many areas of education. In Canada, educational systems are highly centralized at the provincial level. The federal government plays a shadowy but surprisingly influential role. The roles of the teacher-training institutions and the teachers' professional association also give a common characteristic to public education which makes it different from other social institutions. The school board and its professional adviser, or executive officer, have many organizations with which they are forced to contend in their decision-making. Probably they have more identifiable interest groups, with the same kinds of interest, in all communities throughout the nation than other community decision-making bodies.

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[10] Robert E. Agger and Daniel Goldrich, "Community Power Structure and Partisanship," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (August, 1958), pp. 383-392.

[11] M. Janowitz, "Community Power and 'Policy Science' Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall, 1962), pp. 398-410.

The quickest and most comprehensive technique which would limn out the position of each of these groups would be a survey of community citizens whose perceptions of the roles of these agencies are most important. An empirical measure of public perception would provide the basis for selecting and developing the approach to those community issues which would seem to be most productive in showing the decision process in action. In fact, the only feasible approach to assessing this dimension is through a survey technique of some kind or other.

TWO TYPES OF DECISION-MAKING

Two types, or modes, of decision-making may be described in terms of differences in form rather than kind. Administrative decision-making and policy decision-making have been distinguished by Agger and others. The difference lies in the scope of the decisions: the former are of a routine, technical nature with few participants; the latter are of major dimensions, involving many participants and presenting a departure from prevailing policies. However, these writers see that "politics and administration are inextricably intertwined. [Their] view of administrators is that they may or may not participate at any stage of the political decision-making process."[12]

Exhaustive criteria to distinguish between these two types have not been set. Agger has gone only as far as setting a "cluster" of characteristics by which a decision may be typed. A schematic presentation of six dimensions is useful (Table 4-1).

TABLE 4-1: ***Characteristics by which a decision may be typed.***

Administrative or "Technical" or Professional	**Policy or Public or Political**
Routine	*Extraordinary*
Implementation of earlier decisions	*The establishment of precedent or a departure from prevailing policy*
Implementation of relatively minor values	*Implementation of relatively major values*
Direct effect on few people	*Direct effect on many people*
Alternate choices based on technical criteria	*Alternate choices based on subjective or non-technical criteria*
"Decided" by experts	*"Decided" by the public*

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[12] Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert Swanson, *The Rulers and the Ruled* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).

The table is an over-simplification for classification, but a better taxonomy remains to be constructed. The authors suggest that a fruitful project would be "to develop more complex multi-dimensional schemes for the classification of decisional processes rather than to view them simply as being a single administrative-political dimsension."[13] However, approaching the problem at an elementary level, we should first deal with this single dimension and make some preliminary efforts to operationalize this concept in order to make it researchable. It must be structured for a survey study in such a way that we tap the perceptions of certain sets of people in a community who perceive decisions being made as either administrative or political. This concept of a differentiation in decision-making along the dimension of administrative-political has important relevance to education. In assessing the impact of a decision on the educative process within an institution, the ability to determine to what degree the decision was administrative or political is helpful. The more routine, "technical-oriented" administrative decision would probably have more immediate effect. However, the political decision, involving more partisans and representing a revision of commonly held values would, in the long run, result in major shifts and modifications in the educational system. This aspect of leadership is pointed out subsequently as occurring at one vital stage of the decision process.

A fuller understanding of decision-making in terms of administrative or political in the educational arena is an important and pressing problem existing in our communities today. Confusion between the professional and the lay citizen constitutes what Roald Campbell terms "poor politics."[14] He contends that there is a realm of public decision and a realm of professional decision in the operation of public education. He agrees that these two realms are not separated but rather combined and complementary. He states:

> . . . Determination of the basic goals for public
> education after advice from the professional is in the

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Roald F. Campbell, "Process of Policy Making Within Structures of Educational Government: As Viewed by the Educator," in W. P. McLure and Van Miller (eds.), *Government of Public Education for Adequate Policy Making* (Urbana: Bureau of Educational Research, University of Illinois, 1960), p. 71.

> realm of public decision. Know-how relative to the achievement of those goals is essentially within the realm of professional decision. These are not easy distinctions to make nor to implement but when citizens and professionals interact in good faith, the appropriate and necessary roles for each may be established.
>
> . . . Some citizens, even some school board members, push the question of basic goals toward the profession. Other citizens, some board members too, wish to get squarely in the realm of professional operation. Conversely, some professionals seem to welcome the task of goal determination as well as control over the means of goal achievement. Apparently there are also professionals, so-called, who abdicate their professional know-how to persistent and influential but untrained laymen.[15]

A clearer understanding of the roles of the professional in the decision-making process and a recognition that the professional is not separate from the process are necessary if we wish to analyse this phenomenon. A secondary benefit, namely, improving the "poor politics" within an educational system, will be possible by diagnosing at which point the decision-making process is weakest. This may be the practical value from research in this area of decision-making.

THE PROCESS OF DECISION-MAKING

The use of the six-stage model presented in this section will permit us to analyse an issue in a logical sequence and show at which point in the decision-making process individuals, groups, formal organizations, and government agencies enter, exert influence, and withdraw. Previous studies have shown that there is a lack of widespread participation by community citizens and that the school board is representative of community opinion only officially and not in actuality. Much of the influence on community decisions pertaining to educational issues comes from interest groups who are a minor segment of the general population. Strong influences are also exerted by educational administrators and extra-community forces, such as provincial departments of education and federal government agencies. If the decision-making process in education is exposed to the economic, political, and social forces of these groups and individuals, it is necessary to devise a framework whereby they can be identified, the nature of their influence described, and their impact on decision outcome assessed.

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[15] *Ibid.*

The six-stage process of decision-making suggested by Agger provides a conceptual entry into the problem of analysing this phenomenon in public education. These six stages or "sets of activities," and one event, are:

(1) policy formulation,
(2) policy deliberation,
(3) organization of policy support,
(4) authoritative consideration,
Event: decisional outcome
(5) policy promulgation,
(6) policy effectuation.

These stages are by no means discrete or distinct but merge into one another to the extent that some stages are not readily apparent. The model may be best shown as a spiral with each decision cycle leading into and affecting succeeding decisions. It is a dynamic model, constantly in the process of evolving.

The policy formulation stage may take any amount of time in evolving, for it grows out of the basic economic and political forces in the society. These forces may be local, provincial, or national in scope and are political in nature. It is at this point where all may voice an opinion, and it is at this time the issue "comes to life" or fades from the scene.

The second stage, policy deliberation, emerges from the many points of view and political activities. This is undertaken privately and publicly by individuals and groups through two-way discussion or mass media communication. It is the "talking-writing-reading-listening" stage. The various issues and alternatives are discussed. The possible choices are delineated, and these coalesce into alternatives or counter-demands which attract partisans.

This leads to a third phase: organization of policy support. Individuals, small groups, or interested agencies may bring their maximum influence to bear. This stage may be marked by consensus rather than conflict and is the point where "public relations" can be developed.

Stage four, authoritative consideration, is the point of selection of one set of alternatives. There are several ways this may come about: public balloting or small groups deciding by formal or informal methods. This crucial stage is the moment when the status leader can take positive action and plot a course to bring about a decision outcome of his preference. For,

> . . . inducing government officials to act informally in appropriate ways may be a wiser course of action than attempting to obtain an authoritative modification in the scope of government. Thus political decision-making may not only take place outside the halls of government, but the process can also occur informally inside the government, without the fanfare of public proclamation.[18]

Once the decisional outcome (which is an event and not a process) occurs, the official promulgation is made.

This constitutes the fifth stage and will be an official statement if the policy will bring about a major modification or change in current practice. However, the official promulgation may not be so obvious if the decision is to continue with present policy and implement no change. Nevertheless, this phase has still existed in the process of decision-making.

It is at the sixth, and last, stage of decision-making in school affairs that the professional administrator feels he should be functioning overtly and legitimately. It is his opportunity, and indeed his responsibility, to take this policy as it exists on paper and bring it into a reality. This step is the necessary culmination of policy decisions, for without it the preceding phases have no value. However, it is somewhat of a myth that the administrator functions only at this stage of the decision-making process. He has been in the political process throughout, although his activities have not always been overt or visible. Agger sees the administrator as being

> . . . "in" politics by definition, but whether he is involved in political and/or administrative decision-making is an open, empirical question. The politician is also

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[18] Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert Swanson, *op. cit.*

> "in" politics but he, too, may be involved as a participant in the making of administrative as well as political decisions. The roles played by bureaucrats in the political system tend to be shaped by the table of organization in each government and by the constitutional doctrine and practices in each policy.[17]

A reassessment of the process of decision-making in education is necessary. The fact that the professional enters the process at other points than just the last stage of policy effectuation is worth investigation. What manner of influence does the professional exert at the various stages of decision-making? The role the professional plays in a decision makes it possible to gain some insight into the two types of decision: professional and public. The role of the provincial department of education as well as other agencies at each stage of the process should be ascertained and described. We may find that these agencies are playing influential and crucial roles at certain stages of the process that have not been accurately described before.

AN APPLICATION

The few studies conducted outside the United States have one common finding. In each case public officials are much more influential in community decisions than their counterparts in American communities. City officials in Juarez, Mexico, are found to be nominated as "key" influentials more often than city officials in El Paso, Texas.[18] English public officials play more important roles than business men according to a study by Miller.[19] This characteristic of Mexico and England is important to us, for we can anticipate the same situation existing in Canadian communities. There appears to be less local autonomy in Canadian school systems than is found in the United States, and this factor would strongly contribute to the increased influence of officials at the provincial level and professionals at all levels.[20]

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[17] Robert E. Agger, "Political Science and the Study of Administration," in Lawrence Downey and Frederick Enns (eds.), *The Social Sciences and Educational Administration* (Edmonton: The Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1963), pp. 51-52.

[18] William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Community Influentials in Two Border Cities," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 804-814; and Orin E. Klapp and L. Vincent Padgett, "Power Structure and Decision-Making in a Mexican Border City," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV (February, 1960), pp. 400-406.

[19] D. C. Miller, "Industrial and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and English City," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (February, 1958), pp. 9-15.

This difference which appears to exist may not be the only difference in the process of decision-making. There may well be significant differences at the stage the professional enters the decision-making process. The analysis of an educational issue along the lines of the suggested stages would be possible and would make these studies comparable.

A brief illustration of the application of this conceptual scheme of analysis to a Canadian situation may point up the value of this approach. As a result of many social pressures, such as high national unemployment and a severe shortage of skilled labor, the federal government passed The Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act which would meet seventy-five per cent of the capital costs of all new vocational education schools which could be built and put into operation by 1963. Most provincial governments were committed to pay further building grants of fifteen per cent or more. The provincial departments of education were also charged with approving the building plans and programs to be offered before a community could embark on a building program.

Throughout the province of Alberta there has been a longstanding commitment to the comprehensive high school, and all communities were moving toward this type of secondary program within their financial ability. When the announcement of the new Vocational Education Act was made and approval expressed by the provincial Department of Education, the school boards of two small cities made application for new schools. (Eleven boards received approval, but we are concerned with the two smallest cities.) Both city school boards received approval for their plans and proceeded immediately on their construction programs. One board proceeded to build a new composite high school, using federal funds for that part of the school classified as vocational, but adhering to the concept of the comprehensive secondary program. The other board proceeded to build a new vocational high school separate from the existing academic high school and thus introduced a dual secondary system in the community.

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[20] Peter H. Rossi, "Theory and Method in the Study of Power in the Local Community," *op. cit.*, p. 17.

An analysis of the decision process based upon the six stages, during the same period of time, in cities of comparable size, would make it possible to show at which stage a different set of dynamics took over, thus resulting in two different educational programs. The role of each government body—federal, provincial, and local—and the role of the administrator and community leaders could be described and allocated to the process stage in which most of the participation in the decision-making process occurred and which culminated when both schools opened their doors for the first time.

Using the strategy of the survey-reputational approach (mass sociometry) supplemented by the issue-analysis approach (decision sociometry) to locate influential and power figures involved in this particular decision would seem productive in a study of community decision-making of this nature. This approach would permit an assessment, as empirically valid as possible, of the type of decisions which were being made: administrative decision-making or policy decision-making. As previously described, it would permit a comparative analysis of the social, political, and economic variables by making use of the six sets of "activities." The nature of the decision, whether administrative or policy, could be determined. The impact of various influential groups, agencies, and power figures could be determined on this particular community issue. Using the survey as an entry to the study, but having the respondents focus on this particular issue, would be the key method. Further development of the issue-analysis by the "standard" techniques would then follow.

CONCLUSIONS

Community decision-making relating to educational issues may be studied by a combination of research techniques now in use. Educational systems are unique in our communities because of the extra-community forces which are brought to bear on what is commonly accepted to be a local community responsibility, namely, public education. A feasible technique for such a study is the "reputational approach" method supplemented by the analyses of selected community issues which are followed through six stages: policy formulation, policy deliberation, organization of policy support, authoritative consideration, policy promulgation, and policy effectuation. Those who participate in the decision-making process should be identified by the particular stage in which they participate most influentially. This conceptual framework should make it possible to develop comparable cases—even permitting the issue-analysis to be cross-cultural if there is a reasonable congruency between community issues.

A better understanding of the decision-making process in Canadian communities and school systems should bring about more effective school administration. Knowledge of decision processes, including those aspects which may be unique for a community, a region, or a nation and those aspects which are common to all, will contribute much to the theory of community politics.

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Chapter 5

DEVELOPMENT OF A CONCEPT OF SOCIAL POWER

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The purpose of this chapter is to discuss some factors that may prove critical in a concept of the nature of power in decision-making. The quarrel between the pluralists and the monopolists has, I fear, beclouded our vision concerning some of the critical power elements that need investigation. Our thinking may have been steered too far into a rather narrow emphasis upon structure. At this writing we may well ask whether, in fact, the structural form of community power makes a difference in the level of community support for education. Other elements of the power structure may be of greater importance than whether the power structure is monopolistic or competitive.

In our study of two Florida school districts that were similar in their index of social climate but differed widely in local financial effort for education, we were careful to employ identical procedures in both districts.[1] The power structures in the two districts were significantly different. The difference was dramatic enough to justify an expansion of our comparative studies. The power structure in the low local-effort district represented one of the tightest monopolistic controls by economic dominants that I have experienced. A thoroughly competitive power structure, where no one group could control decision-making for all governmental sectors, was found in the high effort school district.[2]

Now if we were inclined to reach premature conclusions from our data, we would overgeneralize that low effort school districts have monopolistic power structures and high effort districts have competitive power structures. Although we hope to test the effect that this one variable might have upon the big policy decisions for a larger number of districts, I suspect that the structural characteristics may not be the only critical factor related to observed differences in financial effort among school districts.

For example, the data show conclusively that the superintendent of schools in River County (the high effort county) was truly a man of power in the district. In fact, among the schoolmen in the school districts for which I have obtained research data over a ten-year period, he was the only professional to stand among the very top levels of decision-making power in his district. On the other hand, neither the superintendent of schools nor any school board member was even nominated by more than two persons in the first eighteen interviews held in Beach County (the low effort county). These interviews emphasized the identification of leaders actively exercising the most influence upon important county-wide projects, including some educational projects.

We are persuaded by some historical data that a less competitive (perhaps a form of monopolistic) power structure existed in

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[1] This study was sponsored pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Two county units were selected for study that varied less than one-fourth of one standard deviation in social climate but differed more than one and one-half standard deviations in local financial effort for education. The index of social climate used to match the two districts was found to account for about 30 per cent of the variation in financial effort among Florida counties.

[2] The counties are fictitiously named River County (the high effort county) and Beach County (the low effort county) in this chapter.

River County during the first half of the study period. However, our investigation shows a consistently high financial effort for education in the county over the ten-year period that was apparently not associated with recent changes in the power structure. The local effort of the county has increased slightly during recent years. Of course, we simply have no empirical evidence about the power structure prior to the study. One might speculate that the power structure in River County has never approached the domination so evident in Beach County. Such speculation has seldom proved profitable in the past.

In the remaining sections of this chapter, I shall attempt to discuss some of the possible factors that might be important in the development of a concept of power in policy decision-making for education. I shall draw largely from those power studies in which I have participated.

A COMMENT UPON METHOD

Inconsistent research findings are popularly explained away by the differences in methods employed. Although I have found reputational data misleading in some instances, I do not find that the reputational approach produces the erroneous data so often attributed to it. This is supported by other research, such as the findings reported by D'Antonio and Erickson.[3]

I have insisted upon the use of an adaptation of the technique. For example, I have erred toward an initial saturation of interviews to avoid what I feared was the possibility of premature closure. I have also insisted upon the analysis of significant district-wide issues and an issue- or project-centered approach to the measurement of relative power among community leaders. This adaptation stems from my own study as a part of the Cheatham County Studies.[4]

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[3] William V. D'Antonio and Eugene C. Erickson, "The Reputational Technique as a Measure of Community Power: An Evaluation Based on Comparative and Longitudinal Results," *American Sociological Review*, XXVII (June, 1962), pp. 362-376.

[4] These power studies, completed in 1953, were sponsored by the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration. The studies probed in depth the "who," "how," and "why" of power and decision-making in a rural county of 10,000 population.

I now have reason to question whether extensive saturation of interviews and study of significant district-wide decisions are of practical value. In this connection Gourley included in his study every person nominated, even though those interviewed initially advised him that it was useless to retain three-fourths of the names on the list.[5] Furthermore, Gourley deliberately and quite arbitrarily added to his preliminary list the names of every school board member, county commissioner, school trustee, and major county official who had not been previously nominated. None of those persons added to the list because they held county-wide political positions were reputed to be influential leaders. Retaining the names of every person named did not appear to affect what would have been found had those nominated only once or twice been removed from the list.

Our current analysis of one county shows that some persons who were reputed as influential did not exercise their influence in significant public issues. This occurred noticeably in the case of two Roman Catholic clergymen who, although accorded influence, were not involved directly in significant county-wide projects during the last several years. On the other hand, the others nominated and accorded higher reputational power along with these church leaders were definitely involved and, in fact, exercised predominant control over significant county-wide decisions.

The question arises with regard to whether the distortions resulting from a complete dependence upon reputational data are greater than those resulting from ignoring these perceptions altogether. Since we cannot assume the quality of omnipresence in gathering data about any given significant issue, we have to use the accounts by others concerning leader behavior. As Janowitz has stated: "If it is wrong to rely exclusively on reputation as a basis for identifying subleaders, it is equally wrong to exclude this dimension completely."[6] We need to improve our measures for assessing the nature of power in the decision-making process. It would appear that we might reliably include the results of the numerous reputational studies as one of our points of reference in this attempt.

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[5] Harold V. Gourley, "Patterns of Leadership in Decision-Making in a Selected County" (Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Florida, August, 1962).

[6] Morris Janowitz, "Community Power and 'Policy Science' Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXVI (Fall, 1962), p. 403.

DIFFERENT LEVELS OF POLITICS

In their study of city-manager tenure in eight Florida cities, Kammerer and associates found a level of political conflict which they referred to as regime conflict.[7] Regime conflicts were described as basic to the development of all public services of a city and included basic considerations about "the kind of a town we want." Such basic conflicts were characteristic of the cities with competitive power cliques.

Several authors have described a decision-making hierarchy within cities which had monopolistic power structures. In some instances the participation of certain leaders depended upon the significance of the impending policy decision. For example, Miller found that the active participation of "key influentials" in Pacific City (as a group) was associated with very important projects or serious financial and civic crises.[8]

Different kinds of politics were manifest in some of the school districts that I have studied. For example, such issues as the question of folk dancing in the schools in Cheatham County, while perceived as important by school administrators, were insignificant in comparison to the questions promoting regime conflicts in the county. The discussions that, for all practical purposes, decided "the kind of a county we want" had much greater significance for the basic educational policies. Regime conflicts arose over the following proposals: the creation of an industrial development committee, the building of a hospital, the strengthening of county welfare programs, the reassessment of property, the building of a sewage treatment system, the expansion of water supply, school consolidation, and the increasing of educational services by the schools. One of the greatest mistakes we could have made was to view these significant issues as mutually exclusive in each case.

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[7] Gladys M. Kammerer, Charles D. Farris, John M. DeGrove, and Alfred B. Clubock, *The Urban Political Community* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), p. 195.

[8] Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-making Cliques in Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXIV (November, 1958), pp. 299-310.

What did members of the emergent group that promoted these projects have in mind? In my own study I was able to gain some insights about what they wanted.[9] They wanted to change the socioeconomic face of the county, not entirely for altruistic reasons, but for rather well-thought-through personal interests as well. Furthermore, these men had a place for the public schools in their scheme of things. The settling of these issues had far greater effect upon the basic educational policies in the county than the number of strictly administrative policy decisions, such as the squabble among board members over the appointment of a visiting teacher or the wrangle over high school football.

Another far-reaching mistake in research is to assume that all questions of public policy are settled by the resolution of issues openly discussed. I soon learned that deep-seething, intelligible issues between power wielders occurred behind the outward manifestations of publicly involved issues. In fact, these covert issues often came nearer getting at the heart of regime conflicts and were the center of much informal interaction among power wielders. Many a bright idea has been "nipped in the bud" before it could "get off the ground."

These data suggest that we might consider whether, in the development of a power model, different politics are involved for decisions which differ in significance. The fact that some professional leaders have not distinguished between the regime policy questions and politics for the maintenance of the political system has sometimes resulted in unproductive leadership activity. I fear sometimes that public school improvement is affected more by what is not done than by what is done. The pool of leaders engaging in the quarrel over rehiring the football coach may only vaguely resemble those leaders who manifest an interest in a fifteen-million-dollar bond issue for new school plant facilities.

STRUCTURE

As mentioned earlier, the research activity so far has manifested an intense interest in structure. This, of course, was a result of empirical data that threatened the logically accepted pluralism. It was something like being told there really is not a Santa Claus. The overgeneralization that resulted has been the rule rather than the exception. We have encountered the assumption that a common structure can be defined for the exercise of power for all American communities. The facts speak differently.

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[9] Ralph B. Kimbrough, "The Operational Beliefs of Selected Leaders in a Selected County" (Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Tennessee, June, 1953)

In our comparative power studies of River County and Beach County, we were very intent upon applying the same technique in both counties. Common instruments were employed, and the teams of interviewers were kept in constant coordination. As mentioned earlier, the data support different structures for the exercise of power in county-wide decisions. A complex, competitive power structure was found in River County.[10] A monopolistic power structure was manifest in Beach County.[11]

These findings, along with the variations in structure for five other communities for which I have research data, have led me to the conclusion that we can no longer expect a common structure for the exercise of power. Differences in the structural characteristics of power, such as the differences between Beach County and River County, probably have a measurable effect on educational improvement projects and the established educational policies. This would appear to support a tenable hypothesis in our planned expansion of comparative power studies at the University of Florida. I would hasten to reiterate my previously stated suspicion that structure is presently overemphasized.

NEED FOR A CONTINUUM TO EXPLAIN THE SOCIAL DIRECTION OF POWER

Following my study of the operational beliefs of the eleven most powerful men in the Cheatham County Studies, I began to view power from a perspective quite different from the earlier muckraking bias.[12] I entered this study with the suspicion that politics was dominated by selfish businessmen and opportunistic politicians.

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[10] Frederick Wellman, "Interrelationships and Operational Patterns of Leaders in the Power Structure of a Selected County" (Ed.D. thesis, University of Florida).

[11] Roy Dean Acker, "The Influentials in a Selected County and Their Involvement in the Decision-making Process" (Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Florida, 1963).

The power wielders in Cheatham County were, with one exception, moving with reference to what was termed an interdependent-individualistic power continuum. For the first time I was able to view those who furnished the intellectual leadership for the competing groups as seeking certain "socially acceptable" goals. You and I might quarrel with the leader who views the world from the classical economic theory or from what Galbraith labeled the "conventional wisdom."[13] Nevertheless, these are widely accepted concepts. We often fail to realize that many of these men were encouraged to memorize these concepts in college classrooms.

Stemming from an interest in the social motivation of influentials, we developed the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs[14] for use in our study of Beach and River Counties. A factor analysis has shown that conservatism, classical liberalism, and new liberalism may be measured on the same continuum.

I had an opportunity to administer this scale to the intellectual leaders of two competing power groups in a university town. One power group, the "Old Guard," had ruled the city for years. The Old Guard was composed of leading businessmen, financiers, and lawyers. An emerging power group had recently challenged the Old Guard. The emerging group was a coalition made up of employees of an industrial corporation (mostly engineers), college professors, a few businessmen, and leaders from a Negro subgroup. All but five leaders in the group were "newcomers." Helped by an annexation project that more than doubled the population of the city, the emerging group won control over the city government in a recent election. Based on my understanding of the issues, this appeared to be a particularly good opportunity to see whether the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs would differentiate between intellectual leaders in the two groups. By talking with leaders in both groups, fifteen persons were selected who were most actively involved and who were reported to be the most influential in the groups. Table 5-1 shows the results of an administration of the scale to the two groups. A perfect conservative score would be 60, with a possible liberal score of 300. To make the greatest possible score in either direction, a person would have to "strongly agree" (SA) with each conservative or each liberal item. A *t* test showed a difference between the scores made by the two groups of leaders beyond the .001 level of significance.[15]

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[12] Kimbrough, *op. cit.*

[13] John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958).

[14] Vynce A. Hines, "Development and Factor Analysis of a Scale of Liberalism-Conservatism" (Research paper presented at the American Education Research Association, Chicago, Illinois, February 12, 1963).

We plan to administer the scale to the following subjects in the comparative (Beach and River) counties: the key influential leaders, all influential leaders, a sample of the residents, a sample of the school teachers, top elected county officials, and official leaders of organized interest groups. Cross comparisons will be made both within and between the counties.

We are also replicating the study of the operational beliefs of top influentials in both comparative counties. The issues-interview

TABLE 5-1: *Scores of leaders in conflicting groups on the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs.*

Old Guard Leaders		Emerging Leaders	
Leader	Score	Leader	Score
A	139	AA	154
B	179	BB	222
C	140	CC	178
D	125	DD	189
E	137	EE	222
F	202	FF	273
G	155	GG	116
H	152	HH	274
I	166	II	255
J	150	JJ	255
K	128	KK	196
L	108	LL	172
M	151	MM	228
N	143	NN	201
O	149	OO	226
Mean	*148.3*	*Mean*	*210.7*

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[15] The material in this paragraph and Table 5-1 is used with permission from: Ralph B. Kimbrough, *Political Power and Educational Decision-Making* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964).

technique works well for River County. However, we have only a few significant issues in Beach County. Cross comparisons will be made between the operational beliefs of the leaders in the counties.

Motivation should be recognized as a very important area of study in community power structure. The area is so riddled with conflicting psychological and sociological theories that it is greatly neglected. Scholars hesitate to get involved. I have recently read most of the power research that has been published since the early 1950's. A direct confrontation of the motivation problem is usually avoided. Implied assumptions are often based upon small group concepts of conformity. Since when has there been "a business interest" in public policy? The businessmen whom I have studied vary in their positions upon the interdependent-individualistic continuum. Rossi has appropriately raised the question whether there is a social class position on educational policies.[16] We might well raise a question about whether we can say that any given power wielder represents an institutional interest.

I propose that one element of our concept of power structure must be a definition of the social direction of power. Otherwise, even our descriptions of structure itself will be distorted. If power wielder A and school board member B agree in principle, there will seldom arise an occasion for A to coerce B. This is precisely what is often observed. As a practicing school administrator, I never received what was professionally considered an improper suggestion from a power wielder. In fact, those who ran the town were far more supportive than the general public. But there was never a question about who was in control. The board did not take action that was perceived by power wielders as inconsistent with "the kind of a town we want.

If we lead the young and inexperienced school administrator to believe that men will not use their potential to correct a violation of norms and beliefs about a "good" community, we do great damage to the furtherance of educational progress. Every successful power group has an intellectual leadership. We need to assess the socioeconomic direction of this intellectual leadership as a basis for understanding structural relationships between the informal and formal structures.

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[16] Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision Making," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, I (March, 1957), p. 422.

NORMS AND RESOURCES

The question arises with regard to the norms that play an important part in the decision-making process. A study by Scaggs may open up a promising field of investigation into the nature of, and relationship between, the norms and resources of power wielders.[17] What are the normative expectations of power wielders with regard to leadership behavior in the decision-making process? What resources do influentials use in affecting the direction of public policy? What relationship exists between conformity to norms and the effective use of power resources? All of the following data are taken from Scaggs' analysis.[18]

The Normative Process

Those norms which Scaggs has defined are briefly identified in the paragraphs that follow. They were derived from the stated expectations of influentials in River County.

THE PROTESTANT ETHIC.—A conformity to River County leaders' version of the protestant ethic appears manifest in the statements and behavior of top influential leaders. A few examples of highly favorable value statements made about persons in River County follow (names are fictitious):

> Bill Jones has contributed his share of work.
> Dwight Mumford is willing to give of himself.
> Quincy Gage runs a good business.
> He's a good church man.
> George Quinn is a straight shooter.
> He is an honest and wholesome fellow.
> Russell Ryan is a man of his word.
> Sam is the most successful businessman around here.

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[17] William F. Scaggs, "The Influentials in a Selected County School Administrative Unit: Their Norms and Resources" (Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Florida, 1963).

[18] *Ibid.*

Some negative statements are exemplified by the following:

He's as lazy as hell.
He's against everything for progress.
That fellow has never worked a day in his life.
Ken Ogden can speak from both sides of his mouth at the same time.
He told me one thing and did another.
His standards are not very high.
He drinks too much.
He inherited his position.

From these few statements one gains the impression that high value is placed upon hard work, honesty, personal competence, and religious principles.

CONSIDERATION OF OTHERS.—The leaders in River County were normatively expected to show a large amount of consideration for the concerns of others. The leaders were expected to be helpful, considerate, supportive, and reasonable.

This norm has appeared quite universally among the districts I have studied. The leaders have, with a few exceptions in each case study, been considerate even in helping us with our power studies. Showing consideration does not necessarily imply support.

HARMONY.—The influentials in River County had an almost insatiable appetite for minimizing public conflict and propagating cooperation. One of the most frequent condemnations of certain persons was, "He's controversial." *If one wanted to be accepted by* the leaders of River County, he proved himself capable of "getting along" and of being "not at all controversial."

THE IMAGE OF COMMUNITY SERVICE.—A person did not become accepted among the top leaders in River County if he was perceived as involved in projects or issues strictly for personal gain or was against everything. One had to support his community. Furthermore, he needed to cover his personal interests (an interest always present) with the strong manifest image of community service. For example, if one was opposed to a new planning and zoning ordinance, he did not say, "I am opposed to planning and zoning." Instead he said, "I am in favor of planning and zoning but opposed to the way they are proposing it." The acceptable normative leadership was to support community "progress." The best way to become unacceptable was to "oppose everything."

This norm could well be an important difference between the levels of support for education in different school districts. I suspect we have communities in which this norm is not manifest. Variations in such a norm could measurably affect the behavior of two equally conservative power wielders. For this reason alone a separate study of the norms of leaders in Beach County appears profitable.

INFORMALITY IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS.—Informality was one of the strongest norms among the influential leaders in River County. If a leader wanted to get a project across, he did not suddenly appear before the board of education or county commission with a delegation. This was the best way to become "controversial." There was an established and accepted informal interaction pattern. The leader first placed his proposal through this channel and allowed it to be kicked around by the very top leaders in his group or even among the top leaders of competing groups. Following much informal activity, the project might be placed before the public via the "democratic" processes, depending upon whether it seemed to be an acceptable idea.

ORGANIZATIONS.—Leaders usually ascribed to the typical civic organizations a "noncontroversial" role. Organizations were highly valued for the role of communication and interaction among leaders. The normative process ascribed to organized activity appeared to be closely related to community service. An organization outside this role most likely produced negative statements. A local taxpayers' league was often described by influentials as "a bunch of 'aginners,'" and as "doing more harm than good."

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.—Scaggs observed that the data for this norm were tenuous. I will mention it here for purposes of our future investigations of the matter. Leaders connected with financial institutions, and banks in particular, were expected to take the leading role in the influence process. Financial institutions were perceived as important and acceptable vehicles for community progress. Wellman has demonstrated that half of the top leaders were tied together by joint directorships of different banks.[19]

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[19] Wellman, *op. cit.*

The Resources Used by Influentials

The data for the resources used by the influentials in River County are not so complete as the data for the discussion of norms just presented. Scaggs, in his study, is attempting to provide a basis for the investigation of power resources which at the present time is found to be conceptually weak in the literature. He hopes to develop a framework for some researchable concepts of resources used by the key influentials. This might provide us a basis for cross-comparisons in our planned expansion of our Florida power studies. Among those resources which are used by influentials in River County and are at present being investigated are: wealth, social class, tradition, expertness, control of essential services, public office, control over jobs, esteem, organizational affiliation, interactions, state influence. I shall not at this time go into a definition of these terms.

In summary, I think that the norms and resources of men of power will eventually be a key element in the development of a model for power. Professor R. L. Johns and I are planning to request funds for an expansion of our studies to other counties.[20] An analysis of the effect that norms and resources have upon the level of financial effort for education will probably be included.

THE ROLE OF ORGANIZED INTEREST GROUPS

In his comprehensive review of research on organized interest groups, Eldersveld noted that, "The roles which interest groups perform in the political system and social system provide fascinating speculation, but as yet little real research."[21] The role of formal organizations in the decision-making process has not been given sufficient empirical treatment in our research efforts. We are planning to investigate the comparative relationships of the roles of organizations between River County and Beach County. This is one of the extras that we did not foresee at the time our proposal for research was made.

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[20] Professor R. L. Johns, Head of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision, College of Education, University of Florida, is the associate director of our USOE research project.

[21] Samuel J. Eldersveld, "American Interest Groups: A Survey of Research and Some Implications for Theory and Method," in Henry W. Ehrmann (ed.), *Interest Groups on Four Continents* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1958), p. 188.

Different authors have advanced the following functions of the organized interest groups in the community power structure:

1. Interest groups serve as important centers of interaction between influentials.
2. Organizations provide an important public forum for getting reactions to projects and for obtaining public support for proposals.
3. Emerging leaders obtain valuable training in community service through leadership in organizations.
4. Solidary organizations often exert much power for a special institutional sector of the community.
5. Organizations help maintain the separate identity of special interest groups.
6. A popular concept holds that citizens express themselves most effectively through organized interest groups and that they are in turn influenced by the organization.

I suspect that some of our logically derived concepts of organizational role are empirically tenuous. Organized interest groups are used by influentials for a complexity of tasks in the decision-making process. We hope to make some examination of this in our comparative studies in Beach and River Counties.

We suspect there may be a significant difference between the nature and role of the organizations in Beach County and those of the organizations in River County. In any event it seems imperative that we define the nature of formal organizations as an important element of the power structure.

STATE POWER STRUCTURE AND LOCAL DECISION-MAKING

Every study in which I have been involved has demonstrated the specter of an informal state power structure. In fact, strong state power wielders became directly involved in a few "local" decisions studied in the Cheatham County Studies. I have always viewed (and still do) with suspicion any study of local power structure that did not find an interrelationship between local informal power structure and informal state power activity.

Consequently, we need to view local decision-making within the context of state decision-making activity. For educators, this becomes particularly important because the state usually participates financially and exercises prerogatives in administering a "state" program of education. I do not find, on the other hand, a tendency for state power leaders to "muscle in" on those decisions that, by agreement, are reserved to local school districts. The use of the governor's powers to interfere in strictly local affairs is only manifest in extreme instances of mismanagement and then only after extensive informal interaction has failed to resolve the problems. However, a person of known interaction with important state power wielders is in a good position to influence local decisions.

PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

Along with the planned expansion of our Florida studies, as previously mentioned, we hope to concentrate upon the effectiveness of professional leadership in providing for the use of power resources in educational improvement. Among the elements of community power structure that I have discussed, this is likely to be the most important. Among the school districts that I have studied in the past, including the present studies, there is great fluctuation in the effectiveness of the superintendents of schools. The vast difference in the power of the school superintendents in River County and Beach County was noted in the opening paragraphs of this chapter.

While we want to find expeditious techniques by which the various elements mentioned can be researched in several school systems (perhaps as many as twenty or thirty), we plan to concentrate upon the effectiveness of professional leadership. How do the school administrators attempt to enlist the resources held by others in educational improvement projects? What are the differences in critical leadership behavior between the educator accorded high power status and the educator accorded low influence? What are the interrelationships between identifiable and quantitative elements of the power structure and the level of financial support for education among the selected school districts? How does the educator's command of resources, such as expertness, affect the quality of local support for schools?

We think that the element of professional leadership in the use of resources to improve education is researchable. The importance of professional leadership in community decision-making is based upon an educated guess that even a monopolistic power structure is not a "closed society." We believe that qualitative measures of professional leadership will have a relationship to the level of local support for schools and the quality of the educational program. We also believe that professional leadership success will be related to other power structure elements examined. The other elements of power structure mentioned in this chapter will also modify the extent of progress possible. That is, persons with theoretically equal leadership ability placed in Beach and River Counties would not have the same measures of educational progress.

NEEDED EXTENSIONS OF POWER STUDIES

I had originally thought that our present study would signal a cessation of my interest in case studies of local power structure. It seemed that we would have data by which we could move in the direction of more experimental designs. However, it appears that our comparative studies dictate an expansion to test certain concepts on a broader scale before experimental designs are attempted. An investment in comparative analysis for local school districts will, in the long run, be more profitable. Consequently, we hope to expand our Florida studies to include a larger number of local school districts.

Another profitable area of study is the development of prediction studies based upon discretely stated models for power. The studies by Miller[22] and Hanson[23] represent such an approach. Such studies would be helpful, not only in validating concepts, but also in providing an important practical use for our product.

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[22] Delbert C. Miller, "The Prediction of Issue Outcome in Community Decision-Making," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XXV (State College of Washington, now Washington State University, June, 1957), pp. 137.

[23] Robert C. Hanson, "Predicting a Community Decision: A Test of the Miller-Form Theory," *American Sociological Review*, XXX (October, 1959), pp. 662-671.

Experimental designs represent the best test of our understandings of power structure. Developing experimental designs is a frustrating task. We are confronted with some of the same resistance to experimentation that Galileo faced. Nevertheless, educators and the general public have some growing up to do. Some volunteers must be found who are willing to be more than guinea pigs. Research must be designed so that known power variables can be measured and deliberately manipulated with measurable results. I doubt that we should attempt such a sophisticated research endeavor at this time. Considerable descriptive research is needed before a premature trial of experimental research. In the meantime, we can be preparing some "astronauts" willing to try some of our grand designs in the future.

Chapter 6

SOME QUESTIONS FOR RESEARCHERS[1]

Economic, Political, and Social Structural Variables
Underlying Processes and Patterns of
Community Decision-Making and Change

by
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The title under which I write is somewhat broad. In order to make clear my understanding of the problems under review, it is necessary to limit the topic by defining its key terms.

"Structure" is a term many social scientists use without prior definition. In political science, for example, a study of political structure is, or can be, the examination of one or more of the following elements: the legal constitution of the territorial unit; the formal institutions created by that constitution; the informal organization and operation of those institutions; the organization of demands-for-policy by political parties and political interest groups; the crosssectional slice of activity directed toward or through political institutions and organizations; and the ideology, attitudes, and opinions motivating activity. If we are to make sense of such variable usages, I think it is necessary to assert that the term "structure" has two basic elements: First, structure is static—whatever it is that one studies as structure is studied at a given point in time; and second, the most meaningful referent of the term is to relatively stable (i.e., enduring and balanced) regularities of human behavior.

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[1] I am indebted to both the Ford Foundation of New York City and the Institute of Government and Public Affairs, the University of California at Los Angeles, for summer-salary support in my writing of this chapter. Neither organization, of course, is to be considered responsible for anything I write or say.

The term "underlying" presents no definitional problem; however, I think it useful to make explicit my assumption that this term engages its user in *causal* analysis. If variables "underlie" other variables, this means that they are independent variables. And this sets a major task: to break away from the constraints of single-community studies and to attempt a synthetic reconstruction—from the almost overwhelming number of potentially significant independent variables—of a more parsimonious number of prime causal determinants which maximally account for observed differences in community political systems.

"Processes" and "patterns" also present no definitional problems. If structure is static, processes within the structure are the dynamic complement, for the term "process" implies time-lapse, interaction, and nonrandomness. "Patterns," meanwhile, is a synonym for the term "structure"; in the particular context it means that attention is to be focused upon the empirical association between broad patterns of human behavior and a more particularized sub-set of behaviors (i.e., decision-making at the community level).

The term "community" will be here restricted to the *legal* community, which is essentially a territorial concept. This is not a term that will satisfy many economists, sociologists, or demographers; but however much one argues that the legal-spatial community is a "fiction," I believe that the term has political significance and functional relevance—as the proponents of metropolitan integration have learned, usually to their profound dismay.

"Decision-making" will also be restricted—to *public* decision-making. That is, decisions as to who restricts whom from membership in the local country club or who decides to buy the local family-owned manufacturing concern will not be included in the present review of the *dependent* variable. The dependent variable is thus restricted to decisions made by *or through* local governmental agencies which, with Almond and Coleman,[2] will be defined as the formal institutions of the legal community whose decisions are backed by legitimate compulsion.

The use of the term "change" in the title presents an initial puzzle. Public policy can be *status quo-ist* (e.g., the defeat of a school-bond referendum) or change-inducing (e.g., the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown* vs. *Board of Education* in 1954). Thus if its usage in the title is interpreted as specifying a second dependent variable, I would argue that it is redundant because change is logically inseparable from decision-making as defined. However, the questions of whether and how changes in the independent variables affect changes in the patterns and processes of community decision-making are relevant and logically separable from the preceding; and it is with this latter purpose in mind that the literature will be reviewed.

"Economic," "political," and "social" are terms that have been deliberately left to the end of this introduction because they are the broadest and have historically provided the bases of most intellectual controversy. As to breadth, a reading of the works of many younger social scientists generates the suspicion that each term now specifies a primary disciplinary focus that conveniently also smuggles in the remaining two terms. For example, we are all probably agreed on the importance of the distribution of formal education among the citizens of a community; but are we to term it an *economic* factor (because it reflects and generates the organization of material production in the community), a *social* factor (because it reflects and generates the according of prestige and the style of living in the community), or a *political* factor (because the distribution reflects and generates differential training in political roles in the community)? The same behavior, characteristic, or attribute of individuals is given a different label depending upon the particular—and partial—purposes of the observer.

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[2] G. Almond and J. Coleman (eds.), *The Politics of Developing Areas* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960).

To avoid unnecessary duplication, therefore, *economic* will refer to activities involved in the production of necessities and wants within the community; *political* will refer to activities involved in the decision-making; and *social* will refer residually to all other activities in the community.

It would be easy to enumerate a long list of independent variables that might have potential significance for community decision-making, but this sort of exercise soon confounds more than it clarifies. The relevant question is *what* economic, political, and social structural variables are to be examined first, on the grounds of some articulated argument that these are probably most significant for our purposes. It is equally relevant to consider the specific aspects of the dependent variable (processes and patterns of community decision-making) that are to be examined (i.e., the kinds of observed differences that are to be considered theoretically significant in comparing one community to another).

Taking the last question first, a small number of questions will accurately convey the theoretical interests of political behaviorists in the American community—interests which center on the generation of an empirically based theory of the causes and consequences of differing types of community political systems. For reasons that will become apparent shortly, I wish to suggest that these theoretical interests in types of systems are open-ended; that is, they are inadequately represented by referring the types to a single continuum or dimension of pluralistic-to-monolithic distribution of power.

Three questions will suffice to convey these theoretical interests. First, are any decisions being made, and if so, how are they being made? This is obviously two questions. The first calls attention to the fact that in certain areas of public life it is all too easy to confuse ceremonial magic and tribal ritual with decision-making. This point has been made by Norton Long with respect to the political power of Cleveland's "top leadership" in the defeat of metropolitan consolidation.[8] From the viewpoint of the present chapter, the lack of decision-making was associated with the non-existence of a legal community. However, since there may be a deviant type of community in which only magic and ritual obtain, the initial half of the first question should be asked and answered.

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[8] See Norton E. Long, *The Polity* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1962).

The second aspect of this first question is more relevant, for it calls attention to another—and probably more numerous—type of community in which only periodic and routine implementations of long-standing decisions are being made. The essence of this situation would be a pervasive cultural consensus, characterized by a lack of change in the level or direction of political inputs, a lack of political controversy, and consequent stability of policy output. Such a situation has been aptly described in Vidich and Bensman's small town[4] and is generally characteristic of static or declining town and village communities of rural America. If it is insisted that those who so routinely act out their own and their fellows' expectations are to be classified as decision-makers, then it is submitted that this category should be kept qualitatively distinct from the next. For the second broad question is: Who makes decisions, i.e., where there are changes in the level or direction of political demands and where there is at least occasional political conflict? Presumably decision-makers in this sense are to be found most frequently in the urban communities of America. Actually, identifying decision-makers in this context constitutes the beginning, and not the end, of theoretical inquiry, since political behaviorists seem agreed on the theoretical relevance of four more specific sub-questions: (1) What is the relative importance of governmental position on decision-making? (2) What is the relative importance of electoral processes in gaining and maintaining governmental position? (3) What is the effect of social structure upon recruitment to both elective and appointive governmental positions? (4) What, if anything, happens to the number, the consensus-dissensus, and the specialization-generalization of, or among, the decision-makers as they move from one type of decision to another or from one point in time to another? If these four sub-questions do not faithfully reflect the major theoretical preoccupations of political behaviorists, at the very least they provide a meaty and fruitful beginning for inventorying the findings of extant research.

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[4] Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph S. Bensman, *Small Town in a Mass Society* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1960).

However, a third and final question remains: What is the content and who are the beneficiaries of the decisions that are made? As Dahl has pointed out,[5] this is an empirical question of separate theoretical significance: two systems marked by the same degrees of concentration and, indeed, privatization of political power may differ markedly as to who benefits from the uses of power. It is for this reason that the use of a single dimension for characterizing systems (according to the pluralistic or monolithic power distribution) provides too few theoretically relevant categories.

But what economic, political, or social structural variables ought to be examined for their consequences in relation to the aforementioned aspects of the dependent variable? To the best of my knowledge, no one has yet articulated a theory or strategy of choice here—although a number of social scientists apparently have conducted their research on the basis of inarticulate premises concerning the significant factors.[6]

A GROCERY-LIST APPROACH

Although I disclaimed earlier any intention of providing a discrete listing of the variables of probable significance for the various kinds of political dependent variables that we are studying, I find that I must now make a brief grocery list of such variables.

Social Variables

To take account of the three types of variables—political, economic, and social—let us start first with the social variables. It should be noted (1) that these variables are not wholly exclusive and (2) that while the definitions are very broad, a listing of political, economic, and social variables may omit certain other factors that may be of equal or greater relevance. As one obvious illustration (and I am not sure how this would be classified—whether as a political, economic, or social variable), the number and the competitiveness of the mass media, particularly the printed newspapers in the community, could be of extreme significance. However, in relation to the social variables, I think community research analysis will want to focus upon certain substructurings of the residents of the legal community. Certainly the substructurings according to social prestige would be important—particularly the rank of one's occupation in the status hierarchy, the degree of formal education attained, and the amount of annual income or net worth secured for and by the individual.

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[5] One finds this insistence of the equal relevance of the question "Who benefits?" in the occasional papers developed by Robert A. Dahl in his study of New Haven. The term and question, however, are relegated to quite minor status in Dahl's *Who Governs?* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1961).

[6] Recent comparative work by Delbert C. Miller provides a case in point. See "Decision-making Cliques in Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXIV (November, 1958), pp. 299-310.

Other such substructurings may be of equal or even greater importance. But we do not know because thus far we have no satisfactory body of comparative studies. Nor do we have any studies of the sort in which a community is systematically compared with itself at two or more different points in time. Such studies would help to pinpoint factors associated with change. Thus what I am saying here is largely speculative, but speculative in the sense of being grounded upon previous research.

Additional sorts of substructurings would be those in terms of (1) religious identification, (2) racial characteristics or racial identity, and (3) ethnicity (recency of migration and the source area of migration). Apart from social prestige and substructuring on the basis of religion, race, and ethnicity, clearly we should keep as important social factors the size of the population, the direction in change of size, and the rate of change of size. Let me emphasize that if I had time for only one variable of the sort that I label here as social, I think I would pick out the size factor as the most significant. If I had a limited choice, I believe that I would pick size of place as a key independent variable—that is, I would want either to control it or to vary it systematically—for several reasons. Obviously, if one were to compare a community such as Bennington, Vermont (which I myself studied), with a community ten to twenty times as large as that (such as New Haven studied by Robert Dahl) and then both of these with a community ten or more times the size of the combination (such as New York City studied by Kaufman and Sayre), one would get the distinct impression that the size of population alone is an exceedingly important variable. One can hypothesize for future testing the following relationships between size and various objective indicators of the dependent variable (i.e., of "the political system"): (1) The larger the size, the greater the number of events that become "issues" (i.e., events that have the potential for becoming public-policy decisions); (2) the larger the size, (2-a) the greater the number of public-policy decisions, (2-b) the greater the number of actors centrally involved in the making of these decisions, (2-c) the greater the diversity in social backgrounds and in political ideologies among these actors as one moves from one decision to another and especially from one policy subject-matter area ("policy scope") to another, (2-d) the greater the role of technical expertise as one moves from one decision or scope to another, and (2-e) the greater the role of full-time elective or appointive administrators vis-à-vis full-time or especially part-time elective legislators; (3) the greater the size of the community, (3-a) the greater the roles of interest groups and of political parties in policy-making, (3-b) the greater the role of the mass media in policy-making because of the greater dependence of the mass of citizens upon impersonal, secondary modes of information-gathering—and so on.

These are the kinds of relationships we should be and are now finally studying. These hypotheses are not purely speculative because one can employ the discrete "single case" studies as a basis for generalization—as long as one is conscious of the critical assumption, which I now articulate here, that this exercise assumes observed differences in the literature are indeed "real," i.e., that they are not the spurious consequence of unexamined and unknown differences in methodology.

Such hypotheses about the influence of size of population also bear relevance for greater understanding of educational policy. For example, one can pick out from the various tables in Neal Gross's *Who Runs Our Schools?* a number of tentative findings of interest: The larger the size of the community, the more frequently the superintendent reported perceptions of "bad" blockages to (his) "good" educational progress, the more frequently he felt that public-school-board positions were employed as "stepping stones" in political careers, and so on.

In forthcoming publications on the four-city study (in which we used the available data on the 676 United States cities of 25,000 or more population in 1960), we will be able to make some beginning statements about the relationship of size to the formal structure of government, about the relationships between formal structure and social heterogeneity or homogeneity, and so forth. In addition, we have also recently secured the data from the study of "Communities, Conformity, and Civil Liberties" by the late Samuel A. Stouffer. We will re-examine his findings on the differences between leaders and non-leaders by specifically controlling for size of place. This control was absent in the original study as published.

Economic Variables

As a second broad category, I specified that economic variables may have relevance. I think, for example, that the general trend of the regional economy may be exceedingly important. Although this factor is unarticulated, it may be central in any comparisons of the data of the New Haven study by Dahl and the Atlanta study by Hunter and may help to explain some of the differences observed in the two cities. Clearly the economy of the South (of which Atlanta tends to be the regional headquarters) is now going through one of the economic-growth stages that W. W. Rostow has pointed out—we might say it is at the "take-off" stage. The economy of New England, on the other hand, has been depressed ever since the end of World War II and has been going through a very slow and very painful readjustment. It is possible that the comparatively recent yet vigorous growth of the southern regional economy may explain the dominance that Hunter ascribes to the business-managerial elite in Atlanta. Alternatively, one might perhaps explain the observed differences in the roles, say, of inherited wealth, by the greater staying power and residue of "traditionalism" in the South. In any event the industrial revolution is just coming to Atlanta. In such a situation, it may be that bankers, owners of the locally controlled businesses, and so on, are the men who make all effective decisions in the community. We don't know, but these kinds of background factors may be important.

If we look at the nature of the community economy away from the region of which it is a part, the following kinds of economic factors may be important: (1) the proportion of the labor force devoted to manufacturing; (2) the proportion of the manufacturing labor force employed in large units, i.e., in plants having five hundred or more blue-collar employees; (3) the proportion of manufacturing that is absentee owned; (4) the relationship of the city to surrounding cities or to a metropolitan center of which it is a satellite in an economic sense; and (5) the economic function of the community; i.e., is it independent of surrounding cities or the metropolitan center of which it is a part, is it a dormitory suburb, etc.? We do not have any good typologies of American communities to help us with the unarticulated yet obvious hypotheses about such economic factors, even though Otis Sudley Duncan and other demographers have spent many hours in censusing American communities and classifying them as manufacturing versus trading centers, etc., with regard to primary economic activities therein.

To my knowledge, no one as yet has sought to relate these economic classification schemes to even the simple-minded (yet available and useful) kinds of governmental and political data available in the *Municipal Year Book* and/or the *County-City Data Book*. It is apparent that we do not yet have any empirically based typologies that are relevant to an emerging political science.

Political Variables

In relation to political variables, it is of interest to me that we have little data and few published reports that seem to be of great use. The first political variable that should engage our attention is that of governmental form. Four types may be enumerated: (1) the strong mayor-council system, (2) the weak mayor-council system, (3) the council-manager plan that seems to be so attractive in white Anglo-Saxon Protestant suburbs in the 10,000 to 50,000 class, and (4) the commission form of government. Although we *think* these may be important, we really don't know because no one has studied form of government systematically and comparatively. We don't even know whether the strong and weak mayor systems are only "pure types," rarely if ever approximated in real life. We do know that the strong mayor type most frequently appears with large size (except for Washington, D.C.) and that the pattern of politics in such large cities tends to be distinctive in the ways previously illustrated. We also know, from the intelligent speculations of Charles R. Adrian in his various state and local textbooks, that other forms of municipal government may be of importance for the types of decision-making patterns that occur. As one illustration, a commission—which I think usually takes the form of a three-man commission—tends to result, according to Adrian, in some sort of a bargaining system among equals. No commissioner is strong enough, usually, to dominate the commission form. As a consequence each has enough independent power to operate as a check on the others. Thus, one could hypothesize that the governmental structure is important for the pattern of decision-making that results. Such a hypothesis is highly speculative and requires rigorous testing. Our study of 676 cities will permit us to say at least a few more things about the importance of governmental form.

A second cluster of political factors of probable significance is centered around electoral processes and the party system. We think that there is an important difference between nonpartisan and partisan elections. From all we know, nonpartisan elections usually also take the "at-large" form, and this in turn normally makes it easier for high-voting-rate (equals middle- and upper-class) "wards" to dominate the legislature. The nonpartisan electoral scheme normally depresses the effective role of political parties and of working-class interest groups—as was intended by the Progressive reformers. Nonpartisan elections are part of the mystique for separating "politics" from "administration" and thus ensuring calm for the tenure of the city manager or the school superintendent.

Partisan elections are or can be different; at least we should want to look at the nature of the party system (i.e., even where local elections are divorced from partisan politics) in the community. In particular, it is relevant to question whether the local party system is one-party Republican, one-party Democrat, or a competitive system in which both parties can share realistic hopes for winning

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elections. Each pattern is both a cause and a reflection of differing political styles in local policy-making; at the least, these categories direct our attention to a final political factor.

Thirdly, with regard to political factors, there is the problem of partisan philosophy. This is the problem of characterizing the dominant ideology of the community according to some functional categories of a typology. Oliver P. Williams and Charles R. Adrian have done some initially interesting work in trying to devise a typology for classifying American communities. However, their four-class system has certain weaknesses. First, it is an imposed classification scheme which is not empirically derived. Second, there are two hidden dimensions from which the categories of their typologies are derived, and these may be wholly independent of each other, although we just don't know. However, there are two hidden bases, one dealing with the function that the community is supposed to perform and the other constituting a kind of political residual category.

The problem of partisan philosophy is important also, I think, in directing our attention to what I would call political personality. How important (in explaining the observed differences of Robert A. Dahl by contrast with the observed differences of Floyd Hunter) is the ambition of New Haven's Richard Lee? Clearly, Mayor Lee wants to be a United States Senator. He appears to be a man with a consuming political ambition similar in this respect to Senator William Proxmire. He appears to be a man who has devoted all his waking hours since his late twenties or early thirties to politics. There can be little doubt that the political personality of the incumbents is an important factor. From all I can see in the four cities I am studying in Wisconsin, they are close to being strong mayor-council cities. There is nothing to prevent, formally, the coming to dominant policy-making positions of men like Mayor Richard Lee. However, there is no one with a political personality or a power-position of the sort that I believe Richard Lee exemplifies.

SUMMARY

In partial summary I would state that the important variables for the controlled examination of two or more communities in Anglo-Saxon countries (and perhaps we could extend this to the North American and European continents) are those that relate to the basic social trends we have had since the 15th century: urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization. These are the three dominant social trends. Now, it may be that we can get no good *single* objective indicator of one or more of these factors. In the case of urbanization, I think sheer size alone is a good indicator. In the case of industrialization, there is a multiple number of factors involved. By industrialization we mean basic manufacturing processes, we mean blue-collar jobs of low skill and high labor input, we mean jobs requiring very little formal education, and we mean also the bringing together of a large number of workers in the same industrial processes. Industrialization has clearly been an important factor related to urbanization. However, we may have to measure it by two or more different measures which we can then test comparatively to determine their utility for research purposes.

More recently there have been other social trends of importance for examination in local communities: (1) suburbization and (2) fragmentation of what may have been a power structure in which social prestige and economic power and political influence were concentrated in the same small number of cohesive actors.

Related to this trend in American, and perhaps in Canadian, politics has been the decline of the political boss. A number of reasons can be found for explaining this decline since about 1935. Incidentally, these are not all well handled in *The Last Hurrah;* it is necessary for us to read more than fiction to understand political science and politics. Paralleling the importance of the decline of the political boss is the tremendous geometric growth in leisure time. The opportunity for the creative realization of the self is now available on a mass scale. Automation is an additional factor; our capacity for understanding and controlling this process will surely be tested in the next generation. Geographic mobility and the increasing distribution of higher formal education are final factors in my inventory. These factors are more recent than the long-term strains towards urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization. However, it appears important for us to concern ourselves with these variables if only to interpret some of the observed differences we find.

It is difficult to summarize a chapter as speculative and as sweeping as this. I have indicated some significant economic, political, and social structural variables. I have also indicated that we do not yet have a science of the community, that we do not have a body of comparative studies at a given point in time nor comparative studies of communities at different points in time. Thus, we can say very little about the full range of processes and patterns of community decision-making or about changes in those processes and/or patterns. We simply do not have enough data.

However, there is reason for hope and optimism. I think that we are on the verge of developing both a science of community and a science of political behavior. To do so may require some change in our current attitudes and practices. One attitude that may create difficulties is the feeling among ourselves and among our contemporaries that one must always be original. This can be highly self-defeating in the area of community studies. It can lead to unwarranted strain towards unique (indeed idiosyncratic) interview schedules and research designs and the avoidance of one of the most important elements of a science: systematic replication.

Chapter 7

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS, CONFLICT, AND POWER STRUCTURES

by
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The prominence of the "power structure" concept in recent community studies needs little demonstration. An impressively high proportion of the literature of local politics has been explicitly or implicitly directed at the power structure focus. Seldom has an idea in recent social science been more stimulative. Its assumptions have even deeper roots in American political science and sociology; the theme of covert power concentrated in the hands of economic interests goes back at least as far as the age of progressive reform, and in some senses much further. Thus an established perspective and an upsurge of empirical research have combined to set much of the tone for the study of local politics during the past decade's developmental period in social science.[1]

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[1] Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), is in several senses the leading recent work. The periodical literature on power structure is abstracted in Charles Press, *Main Street Politics: Policy Making at the Local Level* (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development and Services, Michigan State University, 1962). See also William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, *Industry, Labor, and Community* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960).

Most of the lively controversy about community power structure has ultimately revolved around questions of method.[2] The intense interest in the techniques of identification of the powerful or the influential has had some significant consequences for research. One of these consequences is that some kinds of questions about power structure have been neglected in the preoccupation with methodology. This is not to say that the work accomplished has been without substantive contribution to the knowledge of community politics, but only that the range of questions asked about power structures is somewhat narrower than it might have been were it not for the difficult and intriguing quality of the problems of measurement techniques.

Speaking in gross terms, most of the work done with this approach has been concerned with the identification and description of power structures and with the conceptual-methodological issues that accompany such an enterprise. To some extent it has dealt with the outputs of the socio-political system and with internal configurations and changes in the ruling elite. With few exceptions, however, it has not treated systematically the relation of power structure with other aspects of political system, social structure, and culture.[3] The problems of method are certainly not solved to everyone's satisfaction. But there seems to be a growing sense among interested social scientists that the need now is to broaden the scope of community power studies to relate knowledge of power structure to other foci of social research. If this is so, we may look in the future for studies casting power structure as a dependent variable (using typologies and techniques that permit it to vary), then seeking its regular relationships with other aspects of community. In a major sense the problem is to find linkages, theoretically explicable and empirically verifiable, between power structure and its basis in community characteristics.

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[2] See especially Robert E. Agger, "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," *Social Forces*, XXXIV (May, 1956), pp. 322-331; Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," *American Political Science Review*, LII (June, 1958), pp. 463-469; Lawrence J. R. Herson, "In the Footsteps of Community Power," *American Political Science Review*, LV (December, 1961), pp. 817-830; Herbert Kaufman and Victor Jones, "The Mystery of Power," *Public Administration Review*, XIV (Summer, 1954), pp. 205-212; Nelson W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 796-803; Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXV (October, 1960), pp. 636-644.

[3] This issue is best treated in Bert E. Swanson (ed.), *Current Trends in Comparative Community Studies* (Kansas City, Missouri: Community Studies, Inc., 1962). The article by David Rogers, "Community Political Systems: A Framework and Hypothesis for Comparative Studies," pp. 31-48, is especially helpful. The recent study by Warner Bloomberg, Jr., and Morris Sunshine, with Thomas J. Favaro, *Suburban Power Structures and Public Education* ("The Economics and Politics of Public Education, 10"; Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1963), treats the power structure-school system relationship thoroughly in some respects but does not explore some aspects of the social-structural setting as they bear on the relationship.

It helps but little, however, to see this prospect in terms as broad as "community characteristics." The study of community characteristics is a field (if one may be permitted to call it such) as well developed as the study of power structure, at least as old, and vastly more diffuse in focus. It could presumably include such various lines of investigation as those followed by ecologists, demographers, geographers, and students of economic development and of governmental structure. It too has been marked by differences over methodology and technique. Of the great amount of research done and information gathered on community characteristics of various kinds, probably only minor portions have been systematically examined for relationships to variables, particularly political variables, beyond the subsystems or attributes specifically in question.

Thus, to some degree, we have in the study of power structure and the study of community characteristics discrete approaches to interrelated phenomena. Both tap aspects of the local social system but tap them from different ends, so to speak. When they meet in the middle, the meeting tends to be casual, not causal. The point should not be pushed too far, it must be granted. Few if any studies of power structure totally ignore the other characteristics of the community or communities under scrutiny, and many discuss them rather fully. Still, even in the most carefully designed comparative studies, the linkage is often not examined or made explicit. Likewise, while those interested in other aspects of community have sometimes taken cognizance of the existence of power, they have seldom pushed very far the question of its relationship to the dimensions of community in which they are centrally interested.

SOME GENERAL RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

What we have here, then, is an area of investigation just beginning to be tapped, a field of opportunity. Stated in broad terms, the problem is the relationship of power structure to its social context. While the problem itself obviously needs refinement, three requisites for fruitful research may yet be pointed out on the general level.

One of these is clear concepts and sharp tools. Such items as power structure, community, and community characteristics, as they run through the foregoing paragraphs, are not of much use as symbols of communication or indicators of empirical operations. Here, the existing literature can be of considerable help.

A second need is resources for comparative research. The type of relationships to be tested is such that a high level of confidence can be achieved only over a very large sample of communities. This follows both because of the complexity of the phenomena in question, i.e., the multiplicity of endogenous and exogenous variables, and because of the need for range and differentiation on the variables to be tested. Ideal conditions may never be achieved, but efforts must be made to extend comparison toward the limits of the possible, a goal whose desirability is widely recognized. The matter of comparative research ties in closely with the matter of concepts and operations if for no other reason than that the expense of comparison urges the development of efficient, economical techniques of measurement that can be applied on an appropriately large scale.

Thirdly, the research of which we speak requires theory, systematic identification of the linkages of power structure and social context, and statement of their causal relationships. This need is one generally shared in social science: that one know what one is looking for and have a reason for expecting to find it.

This chapter does not propose to "solve" these problems of theory and method nor even to point the way to their solution. What follows is an attempt to explore them, both as to substance and as to techniques, in a special sense and in a special type of community setting. The level of government, the arena of power, to which the remainder of the chapter will be chiefly directed is the school system.

The community is what might be called the local educational polity. Futhermore, most of the work and observation out of which these comments grow has been carried on in the suburbs of a large metropolitan area.[4]

Certain *caveats* should therefore be entered at this point. In a specific way, most of this discussion may not have much purchase when applied to other types of governmental communities or to other social or geographic settings. Among other things the following may be noted: (1) The suburb as a genus of localities is different in a number of important respects. Whether political or social tests applied to the suburbs can be carried to the isolated town or the large central city may well be debated. (2) The focusing of discussion on the educational system also introduces restrictions of a sort on the generality of our comments. The specific nature of some of these restrictions will be reviewed subsequently. (3) The formal structural characteristics of the school districts in which most of the author's research has been done, while not unique, are perhaps not typical. Thus most of the content of what follows is based on a situation in which the school district is legally distinct from, often not spatially coterminous with, and, in fact, usually quite independent of the municipality. (4) Finally, the specific research out of which some of the following discussion grew was done with another set of questions and a different theoretical framework in mind, and its analysis even in these original terms is somewhat short of finished.

These and other qualifications severely condition the generality with which we may speak and the confidence with which we can satisfactorily approach the problem of research as outlined earlier. However, it appears that some significant questions can be raised and helpful propositions indicated. While we do not intend to debate the point here, if pressed we would argue, for example, that the processes of educational politics in the suburbs are comparable with

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[4] This statement refers to a study of participation and conflict in suburban school systems carried out in Cook County, Illinois, by the author, under sponsorship of the Center for Metropolitan Studies, Northwestern University. Results are still under analysis. Some preliminary considerations are discussed in David W. Minar, "School, Community, and Politics in Suburban Areas," in B. J. Chandler, *et al.* (eds.), *Education in Urban Society* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1962), pp. 90-104; also David W. Minar, "Democracy in the Suburbs," *Northwestern Tri-Quarterly*, IV (Fall, 1962), pp. 22-28.

(hardly a startling claim), and the categories of analysis applicable to, the variety of other kinds of communities. Some of these problems of approach are empirical, some analytic; many beg refinement. With the aforementioned warnings clearly stated, however, we can perhaps most profitably return to the theme with which the chapter is concerned, moving from general considerations to more concrete terms.

SCHOOL SYSTEMS AND POWER STRUCTURES

The problem we have set for ourselves has three main components: power structures, community characteristics, and the relationships between them. To put the question in other language, we are asking about the variations in power structures among communities that are dependent on variation in community characteristics.

As to the major dependent variable, power structure, we should note at the outset one sweeping, primary presumption running behind this entire discussion, namely, that power structure does vary, i.e., that ordered patterns of influence differ from community to community. This is a presumption on which there is by no means complete agreement. Some theories of community power—and perhaps the research procedures that go along with them are tied to some or the other pattern—find in all communities a power structure of a given design. If theories of this sort were true, our problem would not be a problem. Our approach is based on the more common premise that it does make sense to talk about varieties or types of power structure.

In the setting to which we have reference, the local school system, the power structure question has two dimensions: we may be interested in the conformation of the overall community power structure, including education among other "scopes" of public concern; or we may be interested in the power structure within the educational polity itself. Recognizing the risks of the position, we will focus on the second, arguing that in most school districts the first is of rather little consequence. Much depends, it must be granted at the outset, on the conception of the research problem.

The crux of the argument is that the educational system is in ordinary circumstances discrete, isolated from other political systems in the local community.[5] The organizational and ideological independence of the school system is both symbolic and supportive of this isolation. While claims that education is "beyond politics" are naive in some senses, they are not in this. Education is generally held apart, its personnel distinct, its function highly valued and visible, its needs judged by different criteria. The tradition of separation is strong and, one may guess, growing. While the geographic space of school district and municipality may coincide or overlap, the two do not occupy the same "political space."

Exceptions, of course, are many. The point is that the exceptions are easily over-rated. Even when school system and municipal government are formally intertwined, the facts of decision-making and influence tend to suggest separation. The current situation of educational policy-making even in a highly political city like Chicago indicates the power of the separation tradition. The evidence of the author's study of suburban school systems, while far from conclusive, likewise points in the same direction.

Our proposition is, of course, an empirical one, hence subject to disproof. But evidence and impression seem sufficient to support it as a basis of operation. This is particularly so if educational power is seen in terms of who makes and influences policy rather than in terms of who might be able to influence it. As far as the planning of research is concerned, it can also be argued that if the separation of educational and municipal politics is the mode, our attention should be directed to situations where separation prevails rather than to those rarer instances where there is significant intermingling.

What we have suggested, then, is that the overall dimension of the power structure variable can be set aside, at least for most research on educational politics. An alternative way of stating the case is to say that when education is included in the scope of the policies or decisions to which influence in the community is seen to be directed, the power structure will in most cases look plural.

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[5] For a lengthy discussion of this situation and some of its consequences, see Roscoe C. Martin, *Government and the Suburban School* ("The Economics and Politics of Public Education, 2;" Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1963).

Therefore, research attention may reasonably concentrate on the education sector of the structure.

One of the first tasks of research on the internal power structure of the educational community is the development of a useful set of structure categories. Some of the typologies and scales proposed in the literature tend to take cues from the monolithic-pluralistic distinction. Rogers, for example, suggests an approach that would range communities along a continuum from monolithic to pluralistic according to the degree of concentration of influence.[6] Leaving problems of measurement aside for the moment, there is much appeal in the simplicity of this scheme, as there is also in the idea of classifying by a plain monolith-plural dichotomy. Others have offered more elegant categories, like Banfield's "central decision," "social choice," and "mixed decision choice."[7] Those whose work has taken the case study form have sometimes been content with fulsome discussion of power attributes and not resorted to categories at all, but this is a luxury that cannot ordinarily be afforded in large-scale comparative research.

Reflection and evidence suggest, however, that comparison of decision structures in educational systems requires a classification somewhat different. The predominant fact of decision-making in many school systems seems to be the role of technical *expertise*, usually embodied in the district superintendent.[8] It is suggested, therefore, that one of the categories in a scheme for school system research must take account of this characteristic. "Traditionalists" in the power structure field might boggle at this proposal, for some may be reluctant to see decisions taken by those in authority as exercises of power. They might, in other words, insist on looking for the "real" source of power lurking somewhere behind the technical authority. But in the school system the situation is often reversed: if anyone lurks behind anyone else, making the "real" decisions, it is the superintendent lurking behind the board. If power is some quality like ability to influence the behavior of others, no one but the superintendent seems to have much in a district of this type.

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[6] Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[7] Edward C. Banfield, *Political Influence* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), especially Chapters 11 and 12.

[8] The distinction between "technical" and "rank" authority used here is suggested by Weber's treatment of the relationship of bureaucrat and elected official. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 200-201.

One of the important distinctions, then, is between districts where technical authority predominates and those where rank authority predominates. It may also be suggested that the monolithic-pluralistic distinction as it is ordinarily used makes little sense in a substantially unifunctional, single "scope" polity. There is rather little likelihood in a setting of this kind that clusters of power will grow around different issues. Power may assume a "structure," however, in the sense that a multiplicity of groups may seek it. For the most part, then, the question is whether opposed, not complementary, groups outside the authority system attempt to exert influence on the decision-making process. In some districts there is conflict between "ins" and "outs"; in others there is no conflict, chiefly because there is no identifiable structure of "outs."

These observations indicate a two-dimensional scheme of classification of school district power systems: one variable being the relative power of those within the authority structure, the other being the existence of threats from outside the authority structure. The scheme can be represented in a simple four-fold illustration (Figure 7-1).

		Predominance in Decision-Making of	
		Rank Authority	*Technical Authority*
Relations with Those Outside Authority System	*No Conflict*		
	Conflict		

FIGURE 7-1: *A two-dimensional scheme of classification of school district power systems.*

If and as appropriate measuring instruments are developed, districts can be placed in appropriate cells and, on this basis, data on comparative power forms ordered for testing against community characteristics.

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS: THE STRUCTURE OF ECONOMIC POWER

Research on community characteristics is faced, of course, with similar problems of concept, theory, and method, as the opening section of this chapter suggested. The scope of the term "community characteristics" seems almost without limit. It could include virtually any descriptive aspect of community, and the research that might be classified as dealing with community characteristics ranges over nearly the entire span of the possible. Factor analysis, for example, has in several studies been used to find patterns among as many as several dozen measurable variables.[9] *Current Trends in Comparative Community Studies* lists thirty variables, stated in general terms, that the conferees apparently thought basic.[10] It would indeed be difficult, if not impossible, to catalog the potentially useful indices and combinations of indices of community characteristics that have been developed in social science research.

The body of data on American communities and the techniques of high speed data analysis now available make the use of multiple and complex variables more feasible than before. Conceptualization, measurement, and data collection still pose obstacles to complex comparative research, but progress on these problems is discernible. Some would argue, however, that even greater obstacles to progress in social science lie in the temptation to gather data without regard to their theoretical cogency. In its grand dimensions the point is a complicated and debatable one, but for our more modest purposes it suggests at least that selection of community characteristics variables should be accompanied by some rationale of choice.

We will not attempt here to discuss in detail the classes of community characteristics that might relate to power structure. The breadth of possibilities has already been mentioned. A beginning step in ordering the characteristics might be to divide them into some such familiar set of categories as economic, political, and social;[11] others might be added, e.g., one to handle the broad range of differences wrapped up in the term "social change." Since we do not intend to deal with the entire spectrum of possibilities but only with a narrow sector, the matter does not seem to require extended discussion on this level.

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[9] Christian T. Jonassen and Sherwood H. Peres, ***Interrelations of Dimensions of Community Systems: A Factor Analysis of Eighty-Two Variables*** (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1960).

[10] Swanson (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 14.

One point, however, deserves emphasis. A fair amount of the writing and research on community power has explicitly or implicitly treated power as something that grows out of economic resources and relationships.[12] Thus power structure is often seen as dependent on the economic structure of the community. The connection is embedded in the assumptions of the power structure approach as it developed in the work of the Lynds, Mills, Hunter, and others.[13] On the foundation of a class analysis of politics, this perspective hypothesizes (perhaps the term is too weak) that community power follows business power. From this point of view in its more extreme forms, a description of business structure is a description of power structure, there being a direct causal relationship between the two. If this interpretation of power were completely acceptable, the problem would be merely to elaborate descriptions of economic power and work within this area. Taking only the economic variables incidentally, social scientists could still find plenty of significant research problems to work on.[14]

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[11] As in *ibid.*

[12] See the comments of Kent Jennings, "Study of Community Decision-Making," in *ibid.*, pp. 18-30, at pp. 26-28.

[13] Hunter, *op. cit.;* Robert Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1929), and *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1937); C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), and "The Middle Classes in Middle-sized Cities," *American Sociological Review,* XI (December, 1946), pp. 520-529.

[14] Significant studies of aspects of this phenomenon are too numerous to list. A sample might include Robert O. Schulze, "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," *American Sociological Review,* XXIII (February, 1958), pp. 3-9; Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," *American Sociological Review,* XXIII (February, 1958), pp. 9-15; William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage Among Influentials in Two Border Cities," *American Sociological Review,* XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 804-814; Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles Coates, "Absentee-owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," *American Journal of Sociology,* LI (March, 1956), pp. 413-419; Norton E. Long, "The Corporation, Its Satellites and the Local Community," in E. S. Mason (ed.), *The Corporation in Modern Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 202-217.

But few current social scientists would be satisfied that the relatively narrow range of economic characteristics could adequately explain power structure differences. Among some types of communities, for example, strictly economic-structural distinctions do not distinguish them. There are also reasons to doubt that power in the school community is as closely tied to economics as power in the municipality may be. Therefore, it would seem that description of the economic structure of the community should be complemented with description of other dimensions of community life. This is not to suggest leaving economic structure out of account but only to urge that research be so designed as to keep open the question of its relative weight in determining power.

For the research on school system power that we are dealing with here, several politico-legal characteristics are also of clear importance. Among these we might list formal authority structure; mode of selection of board or other governing body; formal relationship with other local jurisdictions; fiscal autonomy; and fiscal self-sufficiency as measured, perhaps, by proportion of expenditure financed by local taxes. More complicated and of greater relevance here, however, are those community characteristics that lie beyond economic structure and formal legal arrangements. It is at this point the possibilities are biggest and the grounds for exclusion and inclusion most obscure. In general terms these comprise what are commonly called social, sometimes social-structural, variables.

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS: SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Rather than deal with these on a hit and miss basis or take on the endless task of discussing the entire potential universe of relevant variables, we will confine our attention largely to those utilized in the approach to urban social structure called "social area analysis."[15]

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[15] Social area analysis was primarily the product of Eshref Shevky. The basic sources are Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, *Social Area Analysis* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955); and Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949).

It is not our purpose here to argue the preferability of social area analysis over alternative modes of describing social structure. This can, however, provide a handle for discussion of our basic problem and a way of illustrating some potential lines of inquiry. Social area analysis does have a number of positive merits: it is easily constructed from readily available gross data; some of its properties and empirical applications have been discussed in earlier works; it utilizes a set of theoretically derived constructs and therefore provides a presumption of theory from the outset.

Social area analysis is an attempt to capture empirically structural reflections of change in urban society. The basic concept is the "scale of society," the scope of social interaction and interdependence.[16] According to the theory on which the approach was built, increasing scale, characteristic of the evolution of urban society, is manifest in three basic trends: changing distribution of skills, changing structure of productive activity, and changing composition of the population. Out of these trends corresponding constructs, social rank (economic status), urbanism (urbanization, family status, or familism), and segregation (ethnicity) were derived. The constructs are measured by three uncorrelated clusters of variables, each represented by a single average score computed from census tract, or other census unit, statistics.[17] With the scores and plots thus developed, urban populations or sub-populations can be compared. Previous research has tested hypotheses relating the social area analysis variables to variables of a variety of kinds in both American and foreign societies.[18]

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[16] For a discussion of the theory and derivation of constructs, see Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-17.

[17] Computational procedures are explained in *ibid*. Indices and components as developed by Shevky and Bell are as follows:

A. Social rank
    1. Occupation (craftsman, operatives, laborers per 1000 employed persons)
    2. Education (persons who have completed no more than grade school per 1000 persons 25 years old and older)
B. Urbanism
    1. Fertility-infertility (children 5 and under per 1000 females 15 through 44)
    2. Women in the labor force (females in the labor force per 1000 females 14 and older)
    3. Single-family dwelling units (single-family dwelling units per 1000 dwelling units)
C. Segregation (numbers of selected ethnic groups per 1000 total population)

Linking these community characteristics with power structure in a theoretical way is a portentous task. What follows is an indication of one possible line of attack.

Power structure has to do with the application of influence to the distribution of resources. Influence, in turn, depends on resources of certain kinds and the propensity to use them in power-directed ways. It seems reasonable to propose, then, that the structure of influence is dependent on the structure of resource and opportunity distribution in the community. It is this latter characteristic that social area analysis is able to tap.

> The social characteristics of individual residents are indicative of their potential for interaction (their access to the structure of social opportunities), whereas the aggregated social characteristics of spatially distinct sub-area populations denote the prevailing conditions for social interaction (the structure of available social opportunities).[19]

Basically, we are proposing that the power structure will reflect this dimension of community as measured by social area analysis. At least this approach might yield a different cut into the phenomena of urban life than description of economic structure in the sense mentioned before; at most it might yield a more powerful measure buttressed by more precise techniques.

The social area variables can be used to indicate their associated community characteristics in two ways: in terms of over all level and in terms of internal distribution, e.g., spatial spread, range, and so forth. The characteristic resources of the community, what might be called needs and fulfillment capacities at the level of the population aggregate, are reflected in the level and topography of the social rank indices of the community and sub-communities. A high community level, for example, would signify relatively ample resources of wealth and skills; a wide distribution on the social rank index would denote heterogeneity in these characteristics.

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[18] Again the sources are too numerous to list. For relevance to the present discussion, see especially Scott Greer, "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (August, 1960), pp. 514-526; Scott Greer and Peter Orleans, "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure," *American Sociological Review*, XXVII (October, 1962), pp. 634-646; Wendell Bell, "Social Choices, Life Styles, and Suburban Residence," in W. A. Dobriner (ed.), *The Suburban Community* (New York: G. C. Putnam's Sons, 1958), pp. 225-247.

[19] Greer and Orleans, *op. cit.*, p. 636.

"Urbanism" refers to the dwelling, family, and neighborhood setting in which life goes on. It is related to social choice as it describes the scope of activities and interests of members of the sub-population. That scope is expected to increase, and social opportunities are therefore expected to broaden, as urbanism increases. A further characteristic which may be called differentiation or heterogeneity is measured for one important attribute by the segregation index, and it can also be inferred for others by the shape of social rank and urbanization distributions.

POWER STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE: SOME RELATIONSHIPS

How do these social characteristics relate to power structure in the school district? The potential complexity of the analysis required to answer this question will be apparent if we are reminded that we are dealing with two sets of power structure variables, conflict and power-authority distribution, and with three sets of community characteristics variables. We cannot hope at this point to explore the total set of possible relationships. Table 7-1, however, suggests some specific links between social characteristics and power structure as we have defined them and ventures some predictions about the direction of relationships.

These relationships should be regarded as hypothetical, as propositions subject to test. They yield a picture that is not unfamiliar, however, and at some points evidence is sufficient to give us some confidence in them. The most clear-cut source of conflict would seem to be differentiation, the existence of distinct and potentially conflicting perspectives, needs, and resources. Conflict, however, is also a likely accompaniment of low social rank and low urbanism. The high rank community has both the resource base that makes it easier to fulfill needs and the skills and outlooks that make conflict management a probability. High urbanism brings similar results but for different reasons. Here the causal factor would be the distraction provided by a greater range of choices.

TABLE 7-1: *Suggested links between social characteristics and power structure.*

		Conflict	Relative Power of Technical and Rank Authorities
Resources (social rank)	*Low*	*High private needs translate into high public needs.* *Gap between public needs and public resources.* *Social frustration with limits on opportunity.* *Low conflict-management skills.* *High conflict level.*	*Mistrust of expertise.* *Jealousy of bureaucratic prerogative.* *Low capacity to command technical competence.*
	High	*Private access to need satisfaction.* *Material resources ample.* *High level of conflict-management skills.* *Low conflict level.*	*Conditioned by personal experience to expect technical role differentiation.* *High expectations of specialization.* *High capacity to command technical competence.*
Choice (urbanism)	*Low*	*Low isolation from community processes.* *Low distraction by extra-community opportunities.* *Community-oriented actors.* *High child-orientation and woman-domination.* *High conflict level.*	*Low role specialization.* *Time, manpower available.* *Vigilance over, attention to technical details on part of citizenry.*
	High	*Isolation.* *Less intense because widespread interactions.* *Distraction by extra-community influences.* *Actors oriented to social systems broader than or external to community.* *Low child-orientation.* *High orientation to occupation.* *Low conflict level.*	*Role specialization conditioned ideology.* *Distraction from local civic "duties."* *Less time available.* *Vacuum of community-based interest and power.* *Gap between need for fulfillment of function and supply of actors.*

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TABLE 7-1 *(Concluded).*

		Conflict	Relative Power of Technical and Rank Authorities
Differentiation (segregation, social rank, urbanism)	*Low*	*Convergence of interests, perspectives.* *Few catalysts, foci for conflict.* *Homogeneity, consensus.*	*Convergence of interests.* *Common needs and outlooks.* *Grounds for trust in hired technical authority.*
	High	*Differential needs, resources, expectations, habits.* *High occasion for conflict, visible grounds for crystallization of resistance.*	*Differential needs, expectations.* *Mistrust of technical authority.* *Ambivalence, indecision on part of technical authority.*

The author's study of school districts in suburban Cook County partially supports these claims. In the sample of forty-eight districts, those with high aggregate social rank scores were significantly less likely to have experienced conflict as measured by voting behavior on board elections and referenda. These high rank districts were more likely to have developed mediating mechanisms, caucus monopolies, through which conflict was handled. The evidence on the urbanism variable is weaker, but the relationship appears to tend in the direction predicted. Greer and Orleans, in their study of St. Louis, found that urbanism and social rank correlate significantly with the concentration of community actors and isolates in subpopulations.[20] These findings run in the expected direction, isolation being associated with high urbanism and low social rank.

The technical expert, the district superintendent, is likely to flourish in those community settings where *expertise* and division of labor are assigned intrinsic value and where the citizenry is too preoccupied to attend to the matter of school government, or, for that matter, to municipal government. The superintendent brings to his job information, skills, and his entire occupational attention. Where his "employers" on the board and in the community trust and value *expertise*, he is likely to have much discretion and initiative, right up to the highest policy level.

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 640 ff.

On the other hand, where the range of common perspectives is narrower, or where there are grounds for suspicion of the expert, he is probably truly subordinate to his board, the members of which are more likely to determine a span of policies ranging from general to quite particular. Superintendents working in such circumstances are characteristically administrative "conservatives," loath to "stick their necks out" for new policies or revisions of established operating patterns. The superintendent in the highly differentiated district is under the further cloud of suspicion that he is or may become the tool of some or the other specific interest. Our theory would lead us to expect, then, that technical authority will be relatively more predominant in decision-making in undifferentiated, high rank, high urbanism communities. Rank authority would be expected to predominate in the converse social settings. The evidence of the aforementioned study, while neither very deep nor very systematic, points in this direction.

The foregoing describes one approach to the problem of relating power structure and social structure in school political systems. Its merit relative to other approaches is a matter for judgment and further research to resolve. That it has some power is evident from research already completed. Several aspects of the approach clearly require more consideration than they have been given here. One of these is the question of operational measures of the kind of power structure formulation we have developed. Enough has already been said about the problems of measurement in comparative research to indicate the pertinence of this question. No attempt has been made here to resolve the problem or even to summarize the relevant literature. Perhaps the best that can be done is to acknowledge that the matter is open. If resources were available, the application of multiple techniques would probably provide the most satisfactory answers.

A second problem we have not touched is that of the bearing of the variables we have been discussing on the outputs of the system, on the quality of the school district's services. This may seem ulterior —in a sense it is. Yet insofar as we seek a full understanding of the politics and government of schools, it cannot over the long run be left out of account. What has been said here, if it has merits, suggests some things that those responsible for schools—including superintendents, boards, interested publics—should want to explore further. One of the fundamental lines such exploration must take is indicated in the following question: What difference does it all make for the things the schools do?

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Chapter 8

INTERACTION PROCESS ANALYSIS IN COMMUNITY STUDIES[1]

by
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The study of communities—village, city, and metropolis—has had both practical and theoretical research objectives. Practical research has been devoted to improving the community as a place to live by concentrating on community action programs and civic participation, changing the governmental structure, increasing the scope of government, and providing increased public services. Interest in theoretical research has led to the use of the community more as a laboratory or an observatory for the investigation of a series of cultural, economic, social, political, and psychological processes intended to yield generalizations on the behavior of the inhabitants as they are found in a community structure, with felt needs and problems to be resolved.

The social scientist, often engaged in both practical and theoretical ventures, brings a number of approaches, foci, and techniques to community research: The approaches include institutional, ecological, structural, interpersonal, and policy. The foci are the "background" characteristics of persons or decision-makers, the social and political environment, and the processes of issue-resolution which affect the life chances of the members of the community. The techniques of community research include life histories, case studies, sample surveys, and experimentation.

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[1] The writer wishes to acknowledge the guidance of Professor Vincent Ostrom, who directed this project, and the work of his colleagues, who formed a task-oriented group to study community decision-making.

The American community is composed of both formal and informal groups. Most analysts would agree with Sanders that, "In a very real sense, community life is group life."[2] Sociologists generally stress informal groups and processes. For example, Lloyd Warner, known for his socio-economic class analysis of Yankee City, has made a "discovery of the clique and the determination of its great significance as a social and structural mechanism."[3] Floyd Hunter, directly concerned with who exercises power in community life, asserts that "the actions of the private citizen, at least on a policy-making level of power, are almost indistinguishable from those of formally designated officials. The dual relationship between government and economic operations tends to blur into one process."[4]

Political scientists have been quick to emphasize the importance of the formal constitutional order and to point out the fact that the role of government officials has been underestimated. Robert Dahl, a more recent participant in the discussion, stresses instead the role of the professional politician who uses his resources skillfully in the pluralistic American community with its "built-in, self-operating limitations on the influence of all participants, including professionals."[5] Dahl's politician or leader can be found operating in both the formal and the informal structures. Nonetheless, most social scientists use the concept of the group to explain and develop theories of decision-making. Matters of individual choice are studied by making reference to group theory and the political process in terms of interest groups.

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[2] Irwin T. Sanders, *The Community* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), p. 103.

[3] Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, Vol. 1, Yankee City Series (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 110.

[4] Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 171.

[5] Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 305.

SMALL GROUP RESEARCH

The quest to make warrantable assertions concerning community influence patterns will not be found exclusively in the formal or the informal group processes. Recent developments in small group research may prove very useful to community analysts in supplementing their present methods. While early research on human groups was more speculative and represented an accumulation of personal experience, investigation within the past three decades has grown more scientific in requiring explication of assumptions, systematic categorization of units of behavior, and rigorous methods of observation, measurement, and experimentation. This development can be attributed to a concern for the viability of a democratic society, which is conceived as dependent on its group life, as well as to the hope or belief that the social organization of the bureaucratic structures can be improved in order to utilize more effectively the great contributions of the physical sciences.

The study of human groups can be divided generally into the *external* or sociological and the *internal* or psychological approaches.[6] The former conceives the group as a unit of society and views societies as groups with primary and secondary characteristics. The latter focuses on groups as societies, with the group as the subsociety which is the environment for individual behavior and where social interaction can be observed and tested. Thus, sociologists have "rediscovered" the primary group in mass production (Western Electric Studies),[7] the juvenile gang,[8] combat morale,[9] and communication behavior.[10] The psychologists and social-psychologists have examined the social structure of laboratory and observational groups on leadership,[11] affective relations,[12] psychoanalysis,[13] communication nets,[14] and interaction process and analysis.[15]

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[6] Michael Omstead, *The Small Group* (New York: Random House, 1961).

[7] F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1947).

[8] Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927); William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

[9] Samuel A. Stouffer, *The American Soldier: Studies in Social Psychology in World War II* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949).

However, research on groups, both external and internal, seldom has been concerned with the community context wherein the groups existed and certainly has not been interested in the analysis of the community as a viable system. Instead these studies have been interested, as have many community studies, in specific problems associated with the preceding concepts. Small group research, specifically interaction process analysis, can be used on the various small legislative, quasi-legislative, and policy boards – formal and informal – which exist in the community, such as the city council, school and park boards, and the executive committees of the community chest, chamber of commerce, and the industrial promotion councils.

These groups are classified here as authoritative, voluntary, and ideological inner cliques. The authoritative group is defined as a legal entity formally constituted by special state or local law. This group includes the city council, school board, and such special districts as water and fire. The voluntary group consists of the more numerous informal associational groups, such as the chamber of commerce, political parties, and the parent-teacher association. The ideological inner cliques form the nexus of the social, economic, and political notables who often retain an oblique position in community policy-making. There may be one or more cliques which pervade most if not all the significant decision-making within the community.

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[10] Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955).

[11] Ralph K. White and Ronald O. Lippitt, *Autocracy and Democracy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960); Harold Guetzkow (ed.), *Groups, Leadership and Men* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1951).

[12] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (New York: Beacon House, 1953); W. R. Bion, *Experiences in Groups* (New York: Basic Books, 1959).

[13] Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (London: Hogarth Press, 1948).

[14] Alex Bavelas, "Communication Patterns in Task-oriented Groups," in Lerner and Lasswell (eds.), *The Policy Sciences* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1951).

[15] Robert F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1950).

The relationship between these groups can be cooperative, competitive, or conflictful. And while the authoritative groups have a monopoly on the legitimate use of force, the other groups can effectively influence the actual exercise of power and use of force. In the less developed democratic community, one might expect the ideological inner clique to serve an overall guidance or control function over community decision-making, as Floyd Hunter's studies have demonstrated. Robert Dahl, on the other hand, has found New Haven, Connecticut, to be governed by various groups, depending on the scope of interest, such as urban renewal, schools, or political party nominations.

The main burden of this chapter is to present a set of categories – factoring (distinguishing) the variables – by which the internal processes found in these groups can be more systematically examined, explained, and related to the community where they exist and function. In so doing, the community analysts can identify those factors which contribute to the decision-making processes as well as understand the political process of "who gets what, when, how."[16]

METHOD

One of the early steps in any scientific investigation is the delicate task of first breaking down the subject under scrutiny into its component parts and then analytically abstracting from the parts a model of the whole or a meaningful partial system. This process is seldom the neat performance described in methodology textbooks, where the logical steps of theory-building consist of an orderly and uninterrupted series of deductive or inductive steps. The current state of the social sciences seldom allows the trained investigator to proceed without a very considerable effort devoted to the interplay of theoretical constructs and concepts with the elements and attributes of that part of the real world which the theory purports to explain. In the development of the present model, each variable was operationalized on each occasion in the context of the day-to-day behavior observed in a community school board setting. The community was undergoing rapid economic, social, and political change. A consolidated school was formed, and persistent problems over physical facilities, teaching conditions, curricula, and the like were the bases of a power struggle by administration, teachers, parents, and taxpayers.

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[16] Harold Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1958).

Briefly, the method employed in factoring the variables of community policy-making groups was as follows: Observations were made of meetings of a number of deliberative groups with the aim of utilizing the concepts and methods developed by Bales, Bain, and Guetzkow. At first the observations were impressionistic; the written account of a particular meeting was a summary of transactions and exchanges. It soon became apparent that a written transcript of the group discussion would make it possible more rigorously to isolate and classify acts of the interactional process in the quiet of the research laboratory. Such a transcript would furnish the raw material for an intense give-and-take discussion by the analysts of the fit between empirical data and theoretical constructs, as well as provide a basis for training in order to establish a degree of consensus among those engaged in the analysis. Therefore, a transcription was made of each meeting which identified as exactly as possible who said what to whom.

At first a preliminary set of problem-solving categories, such as goal-setting, problem-proposing, information-seeking and -giving, opposing and supporting, and summary-seeking and -giving, was used.[17] The communication of who said what to whom with what effect was then categorized. The task of arriving at a fit between the meaning of the data or interaction and the categories of analysis was hammered out in a manner which yielded a set of variables which were operationalized. These categories were continually refined for adequacy of measurability and tested for their reliability from one community group to another.

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[17] These categories were adapted from R. W. Heyns and L. Berkowitz, *Interaction Category Systems* (Conference Research Project, Michigan, 1949: mimeographed).

FACTORING THE VARIABLES

Seven major variables were identified: situational items, actors, policy problems, acts, primary function or deliberative practice, valence, and the decision or outcome. The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with factoring the variables.

Situational Items

Each observed meeting is classified into a number of situational factors which can be considered environmental to the policy setting. For purposes of general comparison the meeting is identified as to city, agency, and date. Another important dimension, often overlooked, is the physical arrangement. For example, one need only remember that an international conference on the subject of Berlin was delayed because the East and West delegations disagreed about the use of a square or a round table. Paul Goodman, pointing out the importance of architectural design, illustrated by a score of seating arrangements, concludes, "We see that the analysis of a seating plan soon involves us in central considerations of theology, of political and medical theory, of politics, of community mores. It touches the human activity itself, with its historical significance."[18]

Each meeting is classified as one of six possible types: (1) A regular meeting is one called to consider a normal range and type of problems; (2) a budget meeting is a special meeting with the Budget Committee to consider the budget; (3) a special meeting is called at a special time to consider a special order of business; (4) an executive session is a special session called during or apart from another type of meeting; (5) an adjudicatory session is one in which the board sits as judge to decide a case being presented before it, e.g., a personnel hearing; (6) a conjoint meeting is a session held jointly with some deliberative group or agency other than the Budget Committee.

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[18] Paul Goodman, *Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals* (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 179.

Actors

The number and kinds of persons attending, either as participants or as members of the audience, who have access to, or the right to participate in, the decision-making process are recorded. Those in the audience may exert a significant influence on certain or all members of the deliberative group. For example, the presence of influential industrialists and taxpayers of the community may cause a member to consider more carefully not only his vote and his degree of support or opposition to a proposal but also the nature of his own remarks. The observer should therefore not only record who attends but also evaluate the quality of general influence these persons appear to have upon the formal decision-makers. A record of attendance should include the chairman of the board, the vice chairman and members, the chief administrative officers and others, as well as the quantity and quality of high, medium, or low influence personages. Additional attributes of the actors, such as socio-economic background, political personality, and links to others, can be developed according to the kind of information available to the observer.

In order to provide the bases of a sequential analysis, this model traces the chain of interaction by listing (1) the present actor (who performs the action), (2) the recipient actors (to whom the action is directed), (3) the referent actor (responding to whom), (4) the preceding actor (immediately prior), and (5) the succeeding actor (immediately following).

Policy Problems

The primary purpose of the deliberative group is to solve problems. During a meeting one or more problems are generally explicitly (although sometimes only implicitly) raised for group consideration. It is important, therefore, to delineate the nature of a problem as including a number of sequential or partially sequential acts, the time span, the type of problem, and the frame of reference within which it is considered.

The *origin* of a problem, much like the origin of man, may be difficult to discern. However, the more formalized the group, the more formal and clearly stated is the problem placed before it. The formal agenda, prepared by the chairman and the chief administrative officer, generally serves this puropse. Of course, sub-problems arise during the deliberation as well as new or more general problems initiated by a member of the group. The development of sub-problems comes about in the attempt to break down the general problem into more specific sub-parts to fit the occasion or the particular strategy of one of the decision-makers. Robert's *Rules of Order,* used to formalize procedures, provides specifically for the development of new problems under "new business."

The measurement of the *time span* is a simple matter of recording the hours and minutes which elapse during specific segments of the proceedings. Like spatial arrangement, a record of the time element can be useful in analysing the variation in time according to the type of problem. For example, budget discussions often consume disproportionate periods of time.

The resolution or partial resolution of a problem generally marks the terminal point of the time span. However, caution should be exercised against viewing this terminal point in absolute terms. The authoritative pronouncement of a formal decision can be taken more generally as conclusive, particularly in a highly formalized group such as a city council or a school board. If, on the other hand, the decision is controversial and is arrived at with only a narrow margin of victory, lacking real consensus, then the observer may expect a re-introduction of the original problem in succeeding meetings or a subtle process of adding related problems to impinge upon the effectiveness or conclusiveness of that decision. Thus, there may be a correlation between the amount of time spent on a subject and its importance to the members.

The *type of problem* is determined by its substantive nature. Nine general types of problems have been provided for in this model:

1. Program and operations: the activities and functions of the agency.

2. Works and maintenance: the provision for, and upkeep of,

the necessary physical facilities and arrangements for the functioning of the programs and operations.

3. Organization and management: the internal organization and administrative arrangements for the operation of the agency.

4. Corporate affairs: all those relations that pertain to the corporate nature and function of the agency as a whole—such things as annexation, extent of general legal authority, and inter-agency relationships.

5. Legal: all those problems and situations which are concerned with the interpretation of the law. However, a legal question concerning legislative authorization of a general extension of the authority of the agency would be classified as a corporate affair.

6. Finance: fiscal affairs, including budgets, approval of bills, contracts, and the review of financial states of affairs.

7. Personnel: those transactions which are primarily concerned with relations with the staff and employees.

8. Clientele: relations with persons who are being served by the agency. In the case of the school, students and parents would be prominent clientele.

9. Procedural: the question of the proper rules of procedure for the deliberation of the substantive problems.

The *frame of reference* is the perspective or orientation of the deliberative group in any particular interaction as the members of that group come to grips with a problem. Four perspectives have been identified as useful:

1. Procedure: the habitual patterns of interaction involved in the conduct of a meeting where no problem is within the immediate field of perception.

2. Consultation: the perspective of an exchange of information and ideas about a problem in which a decision is *not* intended.

3. Decision: a perspective about a problem where a decision is intended.

4. Diversion or relaxation: the redirection of group activity involving a complete shift from the past orientation of the group to some other kind of activity, such as taking of refreshment or carrying on purely social conversation.

Acts

An essential factor in interaction analysis is the definition of what constitutes an act and what properties may be most meaningfully identified. The present model concentrates on the written transcripts of overt, verbal messages and the use of certain written materials which are presented. No attempt has been made to record, classify, and measure nonverbal gestures or covert messages which are conveyed almost wholly by implication and have an intended special meaning for the particular members using this means of communication.

An act as a unit of analysis is defined as an expression which comprises a single thought, idea, or meaning. Thus, a sentence would most generally constitute one act except when the sentence changes references to actors or subjects or when a complex sentence provides two or more independent clauses. In the event of such changes and in complex sentences, the observer may record two or more acts.

The physical properties of the act are noted by time and medium of communication. Time is simply measured in intervals of minutes or even seconds. The medium used is differentiated into (1) entirely verbal, or the spoken word, (2) use of entirely written symbols, (3) a combination of both verbal and written, and (4) the use of other materials, including prepared materials referred to in the context of deliberation.

Eight grammatical forms are used. They are assigned in terms of the sequential range of present, referent, preceding, and succeeding statements. The first three categories are the three moods of a declarative sentence. The *indicative* form is a categorical statement. The *subjunctive* mood is a conditional statement, a supposition or wish statement, or a hypothetical statement. The *imperative* statement is a command, entreaty, or exhortation. The *interrogative* statement is one asking a question with the intent of seeking an answer. The rhetorical type of question is categorized separately in terms of the moods of the declarative sentence. For example: *rhetorical indicative*, "This is the schedule as it is now?" *Rhetorical subjunctive*, "Maybe you would read this for me?" *Rhetorical imperative*, "Will you read this for me?" An *interjection* is the single word or phrase of expression which cannot adequately be categorized in terms of any particular grammatical form – "Oh, my goodness!"

Primary Function or Deliberative Practice

The focus of the proposed decision-making model is the function or deliberative practice of each act. Emphasis here is placed on the *primary* function or practice of the act, because occasionally the acts of the participants appear to serve more than one function. In other words, the categories used in this model are not completely and mutually exclusive; therefore, the observer must judge the relative emphases of the act in the deliberation. The functions are classified into the following categories, which will be elaborated upon: housekeeping, problem statement, information, proposal, analysis, expression, instruction, and diversion. The primary functions, in turn, are classified into a series of sub-functions or subcategories. Again, it should be noted that a sequential analysis is made possible by knowing the character of the present, referent, preceding, and succeeding functions.

Housekeeping: the functions which are fairly routine, standardized, habitual acts or procedures performed in terms of keeping the meeting going and expediting the performance of the task at hand. The following sub-functions have the common-sense definitions associated with parliamentary procedure: (1) order of business, (2) motion, (3) amendment, (4) seconding, (5) voting, (6) recess or adjournment, and (7) other parliamentary procedures.

Problem statement: the general statement of the problem area which is the general source of difficulty and which does not involve a projected course of action in regard to that general problem area. The sub-categories are intended to get at the source of problem statement, whether they are derived from (1) the agenda, (2) one of the interacting group, or (3) some other person characterized as a petitioner.

Information: the provision of facts and data. Seldom will information stand above and apart from some other function that will tend to determine the relevance of the information. The sub-categories of information are identical to the classifications given for the type of problem. Thus the actors provide the following kinds of information: (1) program, (2) works and maintenance, (3) organization and management, (4) corporate affairs, (5) legal, (6) finance, (7) personnel, (8) clientele, and (9) procedural.

Analysis: isolation of the various contingencies and variables that may be associated with a problem or a proposal and the factoring of these variables as a basis for arriving at some kind of judgment or decision. The sub-functions are:

1. Problematic analysis: seeks to identify and isolate the variables, contingencies, or factors involved in a problem. These items might be thought of as the factors that need to be considered in defining a problem as a basis for a proposal.
2. Comparative analysis: seeks to consider the problem by comparison with the experiences of others. One deliberative group might want to know what other systems do in comparable situations, or it might compare practices with private business or other types of public agencies.
3. Normative analysis: an expression of judgment about a rule, norm, or standard (implicit or explicit). These statements are apt to be indicated by a "should be" or "ought to be" or "must be" phrase. (E.g., "It should be adhered to." "There is no value in having a policy . . . if an exception can be made." "We *must* come back to basic policy.")
4. Consequential analysis: indicates the type of consequence that may be expected in terms of a proposal or a projected course of action. "If . . . then" types of statements generally would be analysis of this kind.
5. Summary: a simple summary statement recapitulating what has transpired.
6. Synthesis: a summary statement which seeks to add a new formulation of the problem or a new statement of proposal. This is generally an inductive inference from a summary of analysis and information.
7. Clarification or rephrasing: a restatement, often in different words, of a definition when certain elements have been assumed in prior discussion but have not been made explicit.

Proposal: involves the statement of a projected future course of action in connection with a problem. As such, a proposal necessarily tends to restrict the range of alternative courses of action that might be taken. The sub-categories merely seek to differentiate between (1) the initiation of a new or original proposal and (2) the modification or amendment of an original proposition.

Expression: the simple expression of affirmative or negative response to other types of statements that carry no other functional category and to statements of opinion and conclusion. The subfunctions include (1) the simple acknowledgment of such things as prior communications or instructions and (2) a conclusion in the sense that the actor might be thought of as making individual decisions.

Instruction: a statement of direction, order, or instruction directing someone else to do something.

Diversion: an interruption or redirection of activities that either constitutes "noise" or serves completely to redirect group activity. It is assumed that a deliberative group can comprehend only one person acting at any one time. The sub-items of diversion are:

1. Private conversation: one member talking or whispering to another with the primary interaction of the meeting continuing among the other participants.
2. Fragmentation into subgroups: the large group breaks up into a series of smaller groups which continue to discuss various aspects of the problem.
3. Interruption: one person breaks into another's statement and proceeds with his own.
4. Horseplay and joking.
5. Storytelling.

Valence

The valence of an act is intended to indicate the ingroup-outgroup character of the deliberative group. Thus, the determination of the yes or no, positive or negative, favorable or unfavorable, friendly or unfriendly aspect of a situation provides some measure of valence. Three specific sub-categories are constructed to facilitate the attempt to determine the possible manifestation of valence within the group toward the actors and the subject matter. These are:

1. Agreement: a positive (yes) or negative (no) statement in relation to the referent actor.
2. Attitude: a positive or a negative statement toward the subject or referent object of the immediate discussion.
3. Affect: the display of any emotion that indicates friendliness and solidarity or unfriendliness and hostility. The demonstration of emotion can be directed toward either the referent actor or the referent object.

An additional breakdown of the referent object is also provided. There are seven categories which involve different levels at which one can identify relations with individuals, groups, and so forth.

1. Group: the interacting deliberative group.
2. Within the agency: any person, group, or sub-organization unit within the agency immediately associated with the deliberative group.
3. Agency in general: the particular agency as a whole.
4. Within the community: any individual, group, or agency, exclusive of the self-referring prior categories, within the community.
5. Supra-community counterpart: any individual, group, or agency outside the boundary of the community that has a direct functional counterpart in the particular agency.
6. Supra-community noncounterpart: supra-community referents with noncounterpart associations.
7. Situations and things: residual category which includes all nonsocial referent objects.

The Decision or Outcome

The terminal point in the activities of the deliberative group usually produces a decision. For the purposes of this model, a decision refers exclusively to the group decision and not to individual decisions. (These latter decisions would be classed as conclusions under expression.) Decisions, in turn, can be classified into five self-explanatory categories: (1) split or divided vote, (2) unanimous vote made explicitly, (3) a unanimous agreement arrived at implicitly, (4) a postponement or motion to table with a definite intent to take up the matter at a subsequent meeting, and finally (5) an abandonment which results from an explicit or implicit decision to drop the matter entirely. An effort should be made to record the individual votes of each member, if possible. If the roll call voting procedure is used, this can be done with ease. Occasionally a voice vote proves difficult for the observer to record when the procedures are very informal.

THE SMALL GROUP AND THE COMMUNITY

One aim of this project was to factor the variables of the task-oriented school board as a methodological problem in the direct observation of social behavior which could provide reliable data in community settings as well as in laboratory experimentation. The major purpose, however, was to suggest that the pattern of decision-making processes found in this board should tell us something about the more general system of community power. The notion is taken from David Rogers' generalization about the Yankee City study that, "There seems to be some congruence between pyramidal authority structure in the factory and the power structure in the wider community."[19]

It is proposed here that the community analysts consider the possible congruence between the political process in the school board setting and the political processes of the power structure in the wider community. To establish this congruence, it would be useful to compare the school board's decision-making processes with those of other deliberative bodies, such as the city council, park board, and utility board. Care should be given, of course, to the kinds of comparisons made. Observation and comparison should be made of decisions on such problems and issues before the group as budgets, tax policies, and personnel problems as well as controversies which expand the scope of the board's jurisdiction and functions. One might hypothesize that:

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[19] David Rogers, "Community Political Systems," in Bert E. Swanson (ed.), *Current Trends in Comparative Community Studies* (Kansas City, Missouri: Community Studies, Inc., 1962), p. 37.

1. The greater the congruence of decisional processes between and among task-oriented groups in the community, the more *consensual* is the community power structure.

2. The lower the congruence of decisional processes between and among task-oriented groups in the community, the more competitive is the community power structure.[20]

This analysis of the interaction of the factored variables, then, should provide a series of patterns which describe and explain the dynamics, not only of small group behavior, but of community behavior as well. The decision-making processes should reveal the frequency, nature, and sequence of the interactions between and among members; clique formations and patterns of influence and leadership; the perspectives, styles, skills, and values of the actors. Thus, the interactional processes of the sets of policy-making or deliberative groups can describe possible isomorphic processes extant in the community as well as the significant sets of relationships between and among the various types of groups which generally influence community decision-making. In addition, knowledge of small group behavior may assist in understanding the community social structure and provide the analyst with useful material in his attempt to classify or type the community according to its democratic and oligarchic, consensual and controversial nature.

In conclusion, the knowledge gained from the study of the interaction process analysis of the small group within the community should provide much-needed insight and understanding of community decision-making. The mapping of factored variables of community task-oriented groups will provide the necessary data and evidence to generate and test a complex concerning the following patterns: (1) decisional preferences; (2) political participation; (3) political influence and power relations; (4) decisional outcomes; and (5) the type of regime which dominates, or attempts to dominate, community life.

Finally, studying the small groups in the community may be the most effective method of studying power in the community. For it is here that most stages of the decision-making process occur.[21] These groups generally are most influential in policy formulation and deliberation, as well as in authoritative consideration, promulgation of decisional outcomes, and policy effectuation. It is here, then, that a few systematic observations and comparisons *in vito* of values, attitudes, and behavior will enable the analysts to make the warrantable assertions about community behavior and public policy that we so sorely need.

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[20] For a complete discussion on the types of community power structure, see Chapter III in Robert Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert Swanson, *The Rulers and the Ruled* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).

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[21] See the stages in Harold Lasswell, *The Decision Process: Seven Categories of Functional Analysis* (College Park: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Maryland, 1956).

Chapter 9

MASS MEDIA AND COMMUNITY POLITICS

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It is being said by some social scientists that the study of community politics is dead. It is the intent of this chapter to show, among other things, that the community as a locale of investigation into political action is altogether healthy and alive. The study of community politics is not dead because it is relevant. It is relevant, first of all, to people (such as educators) whose fate is decided in the community rather than in the state or nation, and secondly, to all those scholars who are interested in building general political theory on a foundation composed of a widely ranging variety of polities which are amenable to research.

Granted that the educator is looking more and more to the larger jurisdictions as the cost of modern education increases and the local property tax base fails to appreciate at a rate commensurate with the rest of our technological economy; nevertheless, decisions as to how financial resources, from wherever they are derived, are to be allocated are likely to continue to be made by representatives of the locality. Thus, the educator who is convinced of the need for curriculum revision, while he may be able to use the standards drawn up by the state and federal policy-makers as tools of persuasion, must make sure that the members of the local school board and the influential citizens of the community come to share his convictions. The political theorist, as theorist rather than as citizen (insofar as these two roles can be separated), is not so much concerned with the outcome of a particular question of educational policy as he is with the more general dynamics of policy-making. By this we mean that the theorist, since he is concerned primarily that his theories hold true *most* of the time, may look with some detachment upon one particular policy-making process, a process upon which an educational administrator may have staked his future in the community and his reputation in the profession.

However, the professional educator should not conclude from this that the professional political theorist-researcher is interested only in elegant and abstract principles of behavior. Indeed, some do have such limited concerns, just as there are some people who are interested in other sorts of puzzles simply for the joy that comes in working out solutions to them. But most of the social scientists in this field have more complex motives. They want to know why some people are able to achieve their politicized goals while others are not. In other words, they want to know why some policy proposals are adopted by the polity and others are rejected. Such knowledge cannot be achieved in a vacuum. It can only be accomplished through the study of concrete proposals which are meaningful to the actors involved, whether they be proposals to build a new expressway across town, to spot zone a piece of land for industrial purposes, or to vote for or against a school budget proposed to the electorate by the board of education.

It is at this point that the needs of the educational administrator and the social scientist converge. If the educator will learn that when it comes down to any one policy question the best that his social-scientist brother can give him (and his policy opponent, should he also ask) is a statement that "if you do 'y,' your chances of reaching your goal are 'x' per cent," and if the social scientist will learn to limit his remarks to statements of this kind and refrain from making such all-too-typical pronouncements as, for example, that "systems tend to reach an equilibrium," then the two can grow together. The social scientist must have data from the real world of politics. The educator must have advice which has been produced by systematic investigation of a wide number of events which have taken place under a multitude of conditions.

This does not tell the social scientist why he should restrict himself voluntarily to the community. Is it enough to say that he should do so only because so many actors who need his services are themselves constrained to the local community? Yes and no, depending upon the values of the particular social scientist. For example, the authors would argue that even the scientist who is interested in such broad questions as the rise and fall of democracies or as the dynamics of international integration, which at first seem so grand in scope that nothing useful can be gained from a study of the community, has not adequately conceptualized his variables until he has realized that what at first seemed a problem in international politics, or in federal-state relations, is to be found whenever two or more units of government come into contact with one another. Once he understands his concepts from such broader perspectives, he may also conclude that by using communities within the same culture, rather than comparing one entire culture with another, he can control a number of variables and still have available to him enough units of government to permit variation of, and even experimentation with, such factors as inter- and intra-community patterns of communication, democratic and oligarchic regimes, and so on down the list of traditionally important factors.

To carry this kind of argument any further without reference to an ongoing community would soon place authors and reader in a position equivalent to that of participants in a rather sterile cocktail party conversation. Therefore, we will now shift ground rather rapidly to the details of community life in Eugene and Springfield, Oregon, only to shift back again into more abstract and therefore more generally applicable terms in the final part of this chapter.

TURNOUT AND OUTCOMES

Both Eugene, a middle-size (50,000 population in 1960), middle-class commercial and educational center for the southern end of Oregon's Willamette River Valley, and Springfield (20,000 population in 1960), across the river and an industrial, working-class community, are required by state law to hold annual referenda in order to gain voter approval for school district expenditures which exceed six per cent of the assessed value of local property.[1] Shortly before the scheduled election in each city, a sample survey was carried out under the auspices of the University of Oregon's Institute for Community Studies, in cooperation with the Lane County Youth Study.[2] Over five hundred members of a panel divided between the two communities (using the school districts rather than the cities as the sampling universes) were interviewed for the first time during the summer of 1959 and were re-interviewed in the spring of 1963, together with over one hundred people who were interviewed for the first time in order to have a check on, and a control for, panel mortality. As Table 9-1 shows, when asked how they intended to vote on a proposed "property tax increase to pay for a larger school district budget," those favoring the proposal were in a minority and would continue to be so even if all of those persons who at the time were unsure of how they would vote finally decided to join them. This was equally true in both Eugene and Springfield and among members both of the panel and of the control group. One might reasonably conclude from the data that the budget would be defeated in both communities. In fact, the budget did pass in Springfield but failed to pass in Eugene, as Table 9-2 shows.

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[1] The school district encompassing each community is an independent governmental body with authority to lay and collect taxes. Each district is larger than the city which accounts for the bulk of its patrons. The six per cent limitation on taxation without having a referendum is somewhat more legally complex than has been indicated here, but the details need not concern us, given the purposes of this chapter.

[2] One of the authors is currently engaged in a United States Office of Education funded project (Cooperative Research Branch, Grant Number 1759) from which this data is drawn.

TABLE 9-1: *Voting intentions (April, 1963) in coming school budget election, by community and sample.*

	For	Against	Not Sure	NA, DK	Total	
					%	N
Panel—Eugene	*31%*	*49%*	*19%*	*1%*	*100%*	*250*
Springfield	*28%*	*54%*	*17%*	*1%*	*100%*	*271*
Control—Eugene	*25%*	*53%*	*22%*	*0%*	*100%*	*72*
Springfield	*25%*	*55%*	*19%*	*1%*	*100%*	*64*

TABLE 9-2: *Percentages of votes for and against in May 6, 1963, school budget election (by community) and in second Eugene election, June 7, 1963.*

	For	Against	Total	
			%	N
May 6, 1963				
Eugene	*45%*	*55%*	*100%*	*6972*
Springfield	*58%*	*42%*	*100%*	*2465*
June 7, 1963				
Eugene	*45%*	*55%*	*100%*	*7605*

At first the divergence between the election result and the voting intentions of the electorate a bare month before a relatively uncontested election seems fruitful only for skeptics eager to reject social research.[3] That one community should pass its budget while its sister city rejected its is unusual only in light of the nearly identical voting intentions of the citizens of each community just prior to the election. Was the sample in Eugene more representative of the community than the sample drawn in Springfield? No, not when the sample is compared to the population (as it is described in the 1960 United States Census) along such standard dimensions as age, length of residence, education, occupation, and income. Another

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[3] The reader must bear in mind the fact that the sample was drawn from among all adults in the respective districts and not just registered voters. It should be noted that political pollsters have come to realize that the undecided or "not sures" usually come out against the issue in question. The budget finally passed in a third election but not until a number of concerned citizens organized an effective get-out-the-vote campaign. The techniques used in this campaign and their results are the subject of further analysis being undertaken under the Cooperative Research grant.

TABLE 9-3: *(1963) "School officials . . . would . . .*

	understand my problem and do what they could about it."	listen to me but would try to avoid doing anything—would try to pass the buck."	ignore me or would dismiss me as soon as they could."	NA, DK	Total	
					%	N
Panel—Eugene	*59%*	*20%*	*9%*	*12%*	*100%*	*250*
Springfield	*63%*	*18%*	*9%*	*9%*	*99%*	*271*
Control—Eugene	*65%*	*16%*	*6%*	*13%*	*100%*	*72*
Springfield	*61%*	*25%*	*5%*	*10%*	*101%*	*64*

explanation for the disparity between intention and outcome must be sought, one that is simple enough to survive the cutting edge of Occam's razor.

First, we will turn to another indicator of citizen preference. Even though the majority of citizens were against the budget, they were at the same time sanguine about the reception they would be given if they brought a problem to a local school official, were willing to rate the school system as satisfactory if not outstanding, and were evenly split between those who trusted administrators to follow citizen preferences and those who were more cynical (Tables 9-3, 9-4, and 9-5).

TABLE 9-4: *(1963) "How would you rate Eugene (Springfield) for . . . the local public school system?"*

	Very Good	Good	Not Very Good	NA, DK	Total	
					%	N
Panel—Eugene	32%	58%	4%	5%	99%	250
Springfield	35%	53%	4%	7%	99%	271
Control—Eugene	26%	60%	2%	11%	99%	72
Springfield	34%	59%	3%	3%	99%	64

On the attitudinal variables the residents of the two cities place themselves identically, except that Eugenians are even more doubtful than the Springfielders that the school officials "do pretty much what the citizens want." But even these differences, while in the expected direction, are too small to explain the anti-school vote in Eugene and the pro-school vote in Springfield when the citizens of each community share most school related attitudes. The difference in the vote is not to be explained by differences in attitudes towards the public school system or its officials. Additional support is given our inclination to reject the attitudinal hypothesis by reference to the panel members' earlier set of interviews. Up to the present, no budget election has failed in these two communities for over a decade. If the electorate's sudden change of heart is to be accounted for by a change in attitudes, then a marked shift from the attitudes held in 1959 should be evident now.

TABLE 9-5: *(1963) "School officials . . .*

	do pretty much what the citizens want."	do what some of the more influential people want."	do what they themselves think best."	NA, DK	Total %	Total N
Panel—Eugene	*30%*	*17%*	*40%*	*13%*	*100%*	*250*
Springfield	*37%*	*21%*	*33%*	*9%*	*100%*	*271*
Control—Eugene	*29%*	*24%*	*36%*	*11%*	*100%*	*72*
Springfield	*44%*	*23%*	*30%*	*3%*	*100%*	*64*

That no such shift has taken place is evident from a comparison of Table 9-6 (1959) with Table 9-5 (1963). A very few more citizens in both communities expected better of their administrators in 1959 than in 1963, with a tendency in 1963 to expect a more independent reaction from them. But the important fact to note is that both communities, in 1959 as in 1963, shared rather than diverged on their attitudes towards school administrators. Tables for 1959 for the other two attitudinal measures have not been reproduced here, for they show even less change over time and less difference between the two communities than does Table 9-6.

The vote-attitude disparity now seems glaring only if one adheres to the assumption, which prior to close scrutiny seems reasonable enough, that those for and against the budget will turn out and vote in equal proportions. If the anti's generally stay at home while those in favor generally turn out in heavy numbers, then most budget elections will be successful. This remains the most likely explanation left to us as to why budgets do indeed regularly pass in the face of hostile community attitudes. Does the evidence support this hypothesis?

Carter and Sutthoff report, in studying voter turnout in financial elections over a period of 11 years in 1054 school districts, that "when the percentage of voters is less than 30 per cent, many more elections succeed than fail; when a moderate turnout of 30 to 60 per cent of the voters occurs, more elections fail than succeed; and when the turnout is over 60 per cent, the chances of success and failure are equal."[4]

The turnout data cited in the preceding paragraph lend a degree of credence to the proposition that at any time in any community there exists a body of citizens who are unwilling to accept proposals put to them by the city fathers. These citizens form a large proportion, maybe even the majority, but are composed of the

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[4] Richard F. Carter and John Sutthoff, *Voters and Their Schools* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 11, 108-130. There are only a very few other research reports on the community setting of educational politics, notable among them being Chilton R. Bush and Paul J. Deutschman, *The Interrelationship of Attitudes Towards Schools and Voting Behavior in a School Bond Election* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955); and Warner Bloomberg, Jr., and Morris R. Sunshine, *Suburban Power Structures and Public Education* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1963).

TABLE 9-6: (1959) "School officials . . .

	do pretty much what the citizens want."	do what some of the more influential people want."	do what they themselves think best."	NA, DK	Total %	Total N
Eugene	33%	23%	27%	17%	100%	703
Springfield	40%	20%	25%	16%	101%	528

least involved, least articulate, and least active citizens, whose negative outlook usually comes to naught because, for one reason or another, their low rate of participation leaves the field to the highly participant group which drafted the proposal in the first place. These "anti's" revolve in one circle, starting with some form of frustration, marching to the conclusion that you "can't fight city hall," and thus fulfilling their prophecy, thereby accumulating even more frustration, since they do not even contest what they find to be objectionable. The "pro's" travel in another, more beneficent circle, in which success leads to further action (reinforcement) which brings still further success. This complementary circularity can be broken, however, and when it is there usually result some major changes in the outcomes of political processes. Such a change occurred with the recent budget election in Eugene, when the "anti" vote increased 260 per cent over what it had been for the previous budget election.

All the facts are not in, and it is still very possible that subsequent research will indicate that factors not currently incorporated into our analyses will provide an explanation of the outcome of school financial elections in terms other than differential turnout characteristics. However, it does seem that we are warranted at this time in tentatively accepting some type of turnout explanation for the defeat of school issues, at least to the point of asking what then becomes the critical question: What events trigger the decision of the person with the more hostile attitude to come out and vote after so long a period of electoral silence?[26]

While the immediate beneficiary of an answer to this question will be the supporters of an improved system of public education, there is every reason to suppose that the same cycle of political participation occurs in such other areas of American political life as urban renewal, public mental health clinics, fluoridation, and all the other forms of proposed civic improvement that have become so common since the end of the war. Take fluoridation as an example. In this issue-area, just as in school financial elections, the higher the turnout at the polls, the lower the chances that the community will fluoridate its public water system, even though such a program would not noticeably increase the taxes which the citizen-voter is required to pay. Pinard reports that among 134 communities which have considered fluoridating their water supplies, 46 per cent of them were for the measure when the turnout was less than 25 per cent, but only 36 per cent of the communities adopted a fluoridation program when the turnout was over 25 per cent.[6] Other issues would probably produce the same results: the higher the turnout, the poorer the chances a proposal has of passing.[7]

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[26] For a truly remarkable report on the stability of attitudes on the part of those whose beliefs are minimally integrated and the random fluctuation of those who have no coherent set of beliefs, see Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David Apter and Rheinhart Bendix (eds.), *Ideology and Discontent* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1964).

If the reader still doubts our basic assumption that political change is due not to modifications in ideology but to alterations in the rate of political participation, hopefully he will accept a request to study the latter as being of value in its own right. See also Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert Swanson, *The Rulers and the Ruled* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).

If this phenomenon is so general, then perhaps the formulation of an equally general theory of political change would be the most efficient way to generate those propositions which will tell us why the disaffected, who normally are too alienated and cynical to fight city hall, occasionally turn out in such numbers as to wreak havoc upon the schools.[8] The authors have taken the first steps toward the statement of such a general theory in another paper and will only recapitulate its bare outlines in this chapter so that we may soon get on with the possible answers to our main question concerning the factors which trigger increases in citizen participation.[9]

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[6] Maurice Pinard, "Structural Attachments and Political Support in Urban Politics: The Case of Fluoridation Referendums," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVIII (March, 1963), pp. 513-526, especially Table 1.

[7] James S. Coleman in his *Community Conflict* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 19-21, was probably the first to draw attention to the turnout phenomenon and its implications. He reasons that, "Ordinarily, in city-wide elections, turnout is low, consisting primarily of the most active, interested citizens, those most *attached to* community affairs. He would expect that when an issue becomes heated, creating a large turnout, the vote results would include a larger component of persons uninvolved in and unattached to community affairs." He then presents some earlier data, also from fluoridation referenda, to support his hypothesis.

[8] On the relationship of political cynicism, which is a particular form of alienation, to participation, see Robert E. Agger, Marshall N. Goldstein and Stanley A. Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," *Journal of Politics*, XXIII (August, 1961), pp. 477-506.

THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Politics, broadly defined, is the study of power or authority relationships among people in a system.[10] The political process begins when an individual member of the system believes that the outcomes he presently derives from the system are somewhat less than what he would like. This perception of a discrepancy between actual and ideal may barely reach consciousness and then only in the form of a vague feeling of uneasiness, or for some individuals it may be formulated into a precise and explicit alternative to the present configuration of things. The person who harbors a vague feeling of discontent can communicate that feeling to his fellows in the same way as the more intellectual person can communicate his developed alternative. Until these persons do so communicate, and until they make clear that they believe the solution to their problem lies in the system adopting their preferred alternative, their problem is a private or personal one and not a political one. While the distribution of preferences, or alternative outcomes, among the members of a political system is necessary data for political research, in that a heterogeneous distribution is more likely to lead to displays of power and authority than one in which all share identical preferences, until and unless at least some one member of the system transmits his divergent preferences to another member, the possibility of such preferences becoming system outcomes is slim indeed. Even more important, there is no reason for rule, or authority, or power to come into play within the system unless it is used to induce conformity; and if nonconformity is to be perceived, it must be communicated. Thus, the formulation of a divergent preference is a necessary first stage in the political process, which itself does not begin until the preference for an alternate outcome has been expressed and then only if the preferred alternative calls for a public, or group, solution to the problem rather than a private or personal solution. We have called this expression a demand, making thereby a distinction between preference and demand analogous to the economist's distinction between desire and demand.[11]

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[9] Robert S. Cahill and Marshall N. Goldstein, "Notes on a Theory of Political Actualization: A Paradigm of the Political Process," in William J. Gore (ed.), *Reader in Decision Making* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., forthcoming).

[10] For a refreshingly unencumbered discussion of the boundaries surrounding the discipline of political science, see Robert A. Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), especially Chapter I.

The political process enters its final stage only if a demand is countered by yet another demand, one that is incompatible in the eyes of at least one of the actors. The most common form of counter-demand is probably that which is made by those who experience no problems with things as they are and who are unhappy with the prospects for themselves of any alteration in outcomes. Less common, perhaps, but readily conceivable, is the demand for still another form of deviation from the present pattern. Should either one or the other type of counter-demand be made, we say that there is conflict within the system, as distinct from competition within the system which occurs when there is heterogeneity only in the distribution of preferences (the preference structure). The final stage in the political process as we conceive it is the one which is most familiar to political scientists, for it is here that the formal structure of government is encountered. In this stage conflicting demands are resolved, sometimes to the mutual satisfaction of all, sometimes to the pleasure of one party and the discomfiture of the other. In the idealized state of nature, no continuing structure exists for the settlement of conflicts. Instead, the parties must resort to hand-to-hand combat. It is in order to avoid such costly conflict-resolution procedures, the application of which may prove more adverse than having one's demands left unsatisfied, that such *ad hoc* procedures are usually discarded in favor of standing bodies of specialized actors who will settle conflict at less cost to those concerned. Even in those instances in which we do not refer directly to a permanent body of men organized for the sole purpose of resolving conflict ("the government"), we have come to accept as governmental any socially standardized form of settling conflict—e.g., the show of hands (majority rule) or the flip of a coin (unbiased chance affording equal opportunity)—which is almost automatically called into play even when the actors involved see no governmental agency as being relevant.

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[11] The term "demand" is to be understood as synonymous with the more familiar term "participation," and they are used interchangeably throughout this chapter. Despite a reluctance to give up traditional terms, the authors, nevertheless, prefer "demand" both for the wider range of behavior it connotes, including non-verbal communication (such as a grimace), and for its explicit positing of the active and intentional.

The three stages in the political process are illustrated schematically (for a three-person group) in Figure 9-1. With this picture

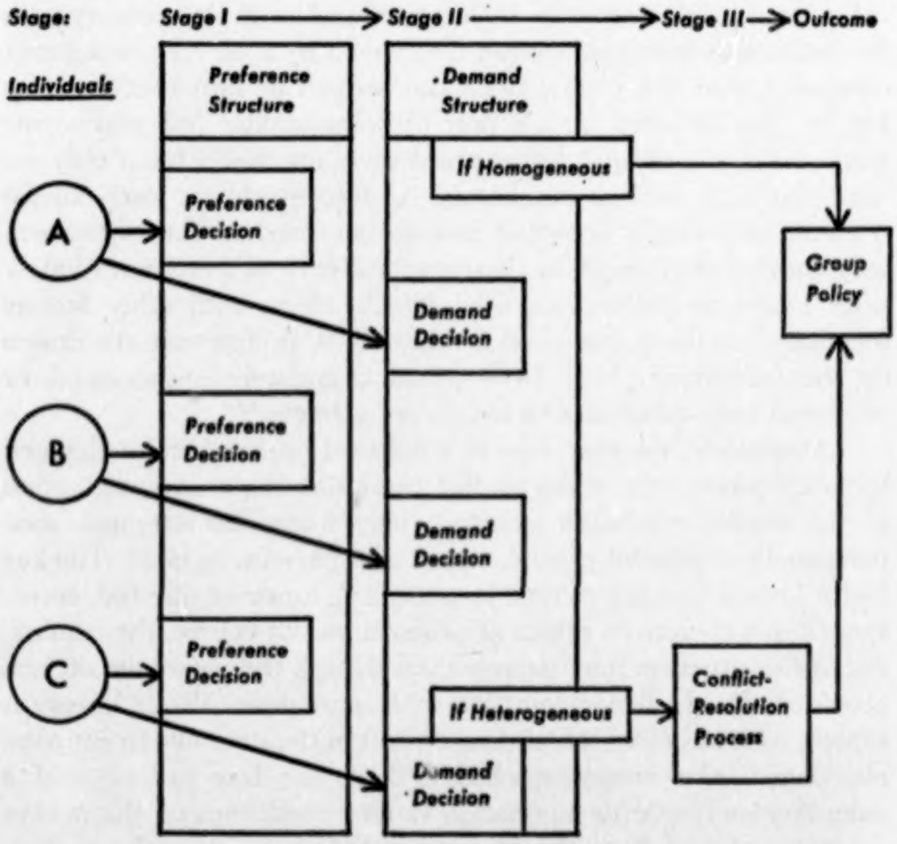
Stage:
Stage I
Stage II
Stage III
Outcome
Individuals
Preference Structure
Demand Structure
If Homogeneous
A
Preference Decision
Group Policy
Demand Decision
B
Preference Decision
Demand Decision
C
Preference Decision
Conflict-Resolution Process
If Heterogeneous
Demand Decision

FIGURE 9-1: Group policy-making process for a three-person group.

of the political process in mind, we can return to our central question and give it a more general formulation. In asking what triggers the potentially hostile voter into action and into a place he does not often frequent, the polling booth, we are inquiring, in terms of the paradigm of the political process, into the factors that encourage a citizen with dissenting preferences to voice those preferences as demands upon the political system.

Politically inspired change in the system outcome for its individual members is not limited in origin, of course, to changed demand-making rates but may just as easily occur as a function of changes in the preferences of the citizens or in the structure by which conflicting demands, once expressed, are resolved into political outcomes. For instance, we are overfamiliar in this century with the belief that men's minds can be swayed by a clever propaganda campaign, that the yellow press can scream us into war, that the big lie gets believed, and a host of other similar folk statements resting on the assumption that preferences are malleable if only we have the right tool in our hands. Unfortunately for such an intriguing and widely accepted proposition, most of the experimentally controlled attempts to change attitudes or values (immediately prior stages to preferences from which, along with other factors mentioned in the paper cited in footnote 9, preferences are drawn by the individual) have been either completely unsuccessful or produced only minimal and temporary changes.[12]

Alternately, the outcomes of a political process can be changed by modification only at the conflict-resolution stage. A modification of the conflict-resolution structure may mean, for example, new personnel recruitment procedures, or new persons, or both. The key factor here is that the change in personnel, however effected, corresponds to a change in values or procedures. Of course, the conflict-resolution structure may change even though the personnel do not, provided the old hands come up with new ideas. While history is replete with old elites which have failed in their resolve to suppress challenges from emerging classes, there are few instances of a voluntary and creative adaptation to new conditions on the part of an *ancien régime*. Even though a definition of change in the conflict-resolution structure may include *coup d'états* as well as elections or other prescribed succession mechanisms, which are simple personnel transfers, it does so only in the rare case of a change that presents more than a new face.

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[12] A thorough discussion of the conversion potentialities of the mass media is contained in Joseph T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), Chapters II and IV.

Revolution is the most extreme instance of change in the conflict-resolution structure. The 1917 Russian Revolution resulted in such a change, substituting Soviet and Party for Tsar and Duma. Different men—selecting among demands using different procedures—not surprisingly came up with radically different solutions to problems. Equally important, they saw problems where their predecessors had not. Although this is the most obvious way to change political outcomes, it is not normally available. To use such a drastic device with any regularity would weaken any system of authority and markedly increase the costs of resolving conflict.[18] When a revolution does occur, not even the dullest student can fail to take note of it: its drama is easily understood, and its impact on the lives of all citizens is often immediate and of major proportions. Gains and losses are large, far larger than those which are at stake in everyday politics. For these reasons students of politics have focused on revolutions as political events out of proportion to their frequency. This whole area of change is of less interest to the student of the *American* political area, where the decision-making structure in most areas of public life, including the schools, has remained very stable for many years.

Thus while political change is not by definition limited to changes in demand-making, it is so limited for all practical purposes *in stable* democracies in which there are definite restrictions upon the forms of persuasion legally available. Ruling out extreme conditions of sensory deprivation, or narcosis, or "brainwashing," attitude change seems as unlikely as revolution, leaving only the demand-making rate available for modification with some hope of securing changes in political outcomes. With this assumption in mind, we can return to the question raised earlier in this chapter. The more generalized formulation of that question is: What factors inhibit a person from making demands upon the political system, and conversely, what factors encourage a person to increase his demands?

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[18] "Authority" is used here to designate a relationship between the specialists in conflict-resolution (the government) and the remainder of the citizenry which permits the government to rule without questions from citizens who accept the actions of their government as legitimate. If government had to depend on force rather than authority, the cost of governing would increase so rapidly that the governors would soon be displaced, either by others or by a return to the state of nature.

A reading of the relevant literature suggests several explanations for changes in demand-making rates, although they are not usually treated as such but as part of discussions of such diverse questions as mass media research, studies of social movements, and the like. An unsystematic perusal leads to a focus on four factors. Others will undoubtedly be offered as political scientists come to cast their study of political participation in terms such as those which we have been suggesting.

In the first place, political demands may be made when a person feels himself so deprived that he has nothing to risk and all to gain by seeking a group solution to his problem. As usual, the opposite proposition is equally plausible and is finding more data in its support. Here it is maintained that the more deprived a person feels, the more likely is he to focus all of his energies on the problem of sheer personal survival. The person living on the wrong side of a subsistence income will starve before the political process produces the desired outcome, and thus he works intensely for the immediate scrap of food rather than campaign for a minimum wage and a guaranteed job starting ninety days after the end of the legislative session.[14]

In the second place, demands may be made when a person perceives some other high-status member of the system as voicing his own inner preferences. This decreases the risk to the individual, for rather than he himself "starting something," he is simply expressing his agreement with the already stated sentiments of a reputable member of the system. Moreover, this relieves the person from the burden of articulating his demands in such a way as to make them unambiguously understood by the other members of the system, the wording having already been accomplished by the leader and a mere "yes" being [illegible] that is required. Furthermore, the follower can be assured that he is one among many and cannot be singled out for sanctions by those leaders who are satisfied with the current outcomes.[15]

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[14] Oscar Lewis, in his studies of Mexican poverty, demonstrates that the more poignantly felt personal problems of the undernourished Mexican peasant are those for which he can only visualize a private solution. A political solution requires too much time, and the peso must be found for tonight's dinner, not tomorrow's. See his *Children of Sanchez* (New York: Random House, 1961), and his *Five Families* (New York: Science Editions, Inc., 1959).

In the third place, demands may be made when a person comes to realize that he is not alone in his preferences, that as a matter of fact they are widely shared but seldom voiced due to the fears of each such person that he is the *only* such person. The mass media, even though they may not be effective mass persuaders, may have the latent function of informing some persons that others exist who support their belief systems. Thus to heap scorn upon integrationists is also to admit their existence to someone who may never have known that some of his neighbors also thought segregation was wrong. Conversely, complete suppression of news would prevent a self-identified deviant from knowing that he was not ideologically isolated.[16]

In the fourth place, demands may be made when a person who has become accustomed to a relatively high degree of security witnesses a sudden downturn in the outcomes of the system. This person may have been a supporter of the preceding set of outcomes and refrained from making demands before, not because he feared that his deviant views would be sanctioned, but because he perceived no problem. Inertia may carry a feeling of efficacy over into the current time period in which problems are perceived. In its most extreme form, this leads to demands not just for favored outcomes but for a change in the conflict-resolution structure when the person comes to the conclusion that the current structure can in no way be made to function so as to satisfy his preferences.[17]

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[15] E. E. Schattschneider offers a lucid description of the process whereby a split in the leadership leads swiftly to a mobilization by each faction of the nonparticipants in his *Party Government* (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1942), pp. 35-64. Our point simply states the Schattschneider process from the nonparticipant's perspective.

[16] Among the few items focusing on the ability of the mass media to spread information concerning the degree to which views are widely or narrowly held is Robert J. Mertz, *The Impact of Newspaper Notice on Educational Television Behavior* (Preliminary Report Number Six of the University of Oregon's Educational Television Project, 1962).

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to be exhaustive, and just as the preceding list only skirts over what might be four among many factors influencing a group's demand-making rate, so we shall probe in depth into only one of the four, i.e., the release from a feeling of isolation afforded by the mass media which communicate to us the attitudes of the other members of the group.

The basic question has again been modified. Consideration of individual participation in educational politics in its community setting led us to a generalized statement of the question. Narrowing our focus down to a fuller exploration of just one possible explanation of changes in demand-making rates has returned an element of particularity to the question so that we are now asking: What effect, if any, do the mass media have on political participation?

MASS MEDIA AND PARTICIPATION

At one time it was popularly believed that a press lord had merely to send a message down to the print shop and the nation was at war. We remembered the Maine and fought on distant shores because we were so often and stridently reminded by an enterprising but soulless magnate valuing only the dollars which increased circulation would bring him. Not long ago such a glib description of the power of the press would have sounded crass but plausible to our ears. We have been conditioned, however, by a new sophistication which preaches that all is complex and that no single factor can cause anything of note, and we therefore now easily adopt a skeptical attitude toward such descriptions. However, to reject the traditional picture of the role of the mass media in society simply because in so doing one boosts his confidence in his ability to avoid illusions is to reject it without a fair trial, although it is usually rejected primarily on such grounds.

The empirical basis for such an assessment of the media begins with the pathbreaking work of Lazarsfeld and his associates just prior to the Second World War.[18] Questioning the impact of the mass media in a presidential campaign, they found to their surprise that such media had practically no power to convert a person from one party or candidate to another, despite months of intensive effort. What little conversion they did find was associated with a variable which was of secondary importance in the original research design. The converts reported contact with a citizen more strongly motivated than themselves in support of one of the candidates. This led the authors to suggest that what influence the media had might have been secondhand, going from the printed page or loudspeaker to the political activist and thence to the less committed who, unlike the direct consumers of the hard material in the media, were susceptible to change. This two-step hypothesis of the mass media's impact is by now familiar, but it has unfortunately been burdened with more freight than its author designed it to carry. A less obvious, but not for that reason less important, role of the mass media in politics is what will be of interest to us in the remainder of this chapter.

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[17] This statement is a recasting in terms of the present authors' paradigm of James C. Davies' seminal essay on revolution, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," *American Sociological Review*, XXVII (February, 1962), pp. 5-19.

Something of an excluded middle fallacy has been committed by those who conclude that the mass media are limited in their influence to supplying information to opinion leaders who may, in turn, relay it to others couched in a persuasive message. To say that the mass media have no impact in converting the mass from one belief to another is not to say the media have no impact at all. For instance, it is a far different thing to hypothesize, as did the authors of *The People's Choice*, that "ideas often flow from radio and print to the opinion leaders and from them to the active sections of the population" than to assert that the *only* role of the media in the political system is this limited and indirect one.[19]

But what is left to the media of mass communications if their traditionally assigned power of conversion is taken away from them? Is there any other way in which the newspaper can have an impact on the mass of its readers except as its message is carried and interpreted by a group of activist opinion leaders? The classic social-psychological experiments by Asch and, after him, by Tuddenham and others offer a guideline which has much potential for theory and research in this area. The work of this group clearly demonstrates that not only will a person hesitate to state his convictions to a group which he perceives as rejecting those opinions but, for certain individuals, the impact of an overwhelmingly hostile majority is so great that they will begin to doubt their senses even when they are facing an unambiguous environment.[20]

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[18] Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gandet, *The People's Choice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948). Also see the later work by Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), and other literature cited in Klapper, *op. cit.*

[19] Lazarsfeld, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

It becomes fair to hypothesize that, everything else being equal, the smaller the proportion of the group perceived as holding one's preferences, the less likely one is to state his preferences to the group in the form of a demand for action. Moreover, a threshold probably exists such that the person who sees himself as the only deviant member of the group is disproportionately much less likely to assert his preferences.[21] A person who has never heard anyone else advocate his preferences is equally, if not more, likely to conclude that this is so because no one else holds them as he is to realize that they may be widely held by others who are just as uncertain as he is of the reception they will get if expressed. For the great mass of people who do not keep up with the most recent findings of the political pollsters, there is no way of knowing, short of taking the risk of being accused of holding wrong thoughts, what the climate of opinion is regarding utopian counter-preferences. What happens may be a sort of reversed bandwagon. Just as the winner usually finds everyone saying he supported him all along, so the loser (or the noncontestant) finds almost no one willing to affirm publicly his support. The social-psychologists have referred to the condition in which each person, out of ignorance of how others feel, assumes that he is alone in his views as "pluralistic ignorance."[28]

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[20] S. E. Asch, "Studies of Independence and Conformity: 1. A Minority of One Against a Unanimous Majority," *Psychological Monographs*, LXX (1956). See also R. D. Tuddenham, "The Influence of an Avowedly Distorted Norm upon Individual Judgment," *Journal of Psychology*, XLVI (1958), pp. 329-338; and "Correlates of Yielding to a Distorted Group Norm," *Journal of Personality*, XXVII (1959), pp. 272-284.

[21] Asch, *ibid.*

As Breed and Ktsanes have indicated, pluralistic ignorance may have a built-in conservative bias.[29] Their research on attitudes toward desegregation in New Orleans shows that those persons holding the traditional (segregationist) beliefs are unaware that anyone in the community differs with them, making them all the bolder in vocally supporting their preferences. The dissident face a burden which Breed and Ktsanes portray succinctly:

> With crystallization (of the segregationists's position), however, it is mainly persons with strong autonomous principles who maintain a moderate stand, while others—a kind of "fair-weather liberal"—shift toward the mean. They apparently have to be supported by their peers to remain liberal.[30]

To the extent that one refrains from making demands upon the group for fear that he will be sanctioned by being ridiculed, by not being taken seriously, or by being taken too seriously, pluralistic ignorance is a political concept. As a political concept it is most crucial to an understanding of political *dynamics*. A system may be stable because its members share a basic preference consensus, or it may merely appear to be stable when in reality there is a great gulf between the members' preferences which has been shakily bridged by the silence of one segment. Should the persons composing the deviant segment—deviant not necessarily in numbers but in that its members would prefer to see some alternate outcomes from the political process than the ones which now obtain—realize that there are kindred souls in the political group, there will probably be an upsurge in political participation. In some cases this may be so great or so unexpected as to put a severe strain on the conflict-resolution structure.[25]

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[28] David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield in their *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948), pp. 388-389, have a brief discussion of this under-used concept.

[29] Warren Breed and Thomas Ktsanes, "Pluralistic Ignorance in the Process of Opinion Formation," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXV (Fall, 1961), pp. 382-392.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 391-392.

The jump in participation may come about as a result of sheer chance. At one time the focus of a number of conversations may be identical, revolving around some political question that has heretofore not been part of the political discourse. Or pressures may become so great that the coincidence of conversations is not a function of chance but of a common feeling that there is little left to risk. More likely, however, than chance or common desperation (which usually seeks an individual solution) is a common medium of communication. This can be either a printed or an electronic medium, or the regularly scheduled meetings of an organization, or the one man who speaks to all—the demagogue. Each brings widely scattered persons to a common forum. In the first two instances they may still remain widely separated in space and in the last two they are joined together in a common place. With the advent of the technically dependent media, the need for a common meeting place has decreased; and in the day-to-day politics of American life, the demagogue, who seems to be so necessary if the people of an undeveloped country are to unite for action, plays little or no role. The regular meeting is the sanctum both of the *status quo* caucus and the revolutionary conspiracy. All that remains to the large body of anonymous and alienated members of our society (current research is just now showing us how numerous these people are) is the occasional mention of their viewpoint in the mass media.[26]

The hypothesis to which the preceding line of reasoning leads is this: The more deviant one perceives himself to be, the more encouraged will he be to make his deviant preferences known to the political system as he learns from the mass media (or other sources) that his deviant preferences are more widely shared than he supposed. The hypothesis can be recast in system terms as follows: The more the deviant members of the system are led to believe by the mass media (or other information sources) that they are not so isolated as they thought, the more likely is the system to face demands for different outcomes. In short, increases in participation (demand-making) may in part be produced by the mass media's effect on deviants who labored under the belief that their demands would be more costly than their possible benefits would warrant. The mass media have this effect by reducing the deviants' estimates of the costs (sanctions) involved.

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[25] In his book, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1963), Neil J. Smelser analyses historical social movements in order to categorize the courses which strain may induce in a society. The particular form which the panic, craze, or hostile outbreak may take is not a matter of concern for this chapter. We wish only to note the potentially extreme reactions which may suddenly occur in what has seemed a stable society.

[26] See Agger, Goldstein, and Pearl, *op. cit.*; and Edgar Litt, "Political Cynicism and Political Futility," *Journal of Politics*, XXV (May, 1963), pp. 312-323.

CONCLUSION: SCHOOLS, MASS MEDIA, AND THE COMMUNITY

No direct evidence of the impact of the mass media on the community can be offered at this time. There is only the indirect evidence found in Mertz's study of the influence of the local newspaper on the television program selection process within the family.[27] At first this may seem of little or no value, but it should be noted that the family shares many defining dimensions with that more complex organization, the city, and in many cases may even have in common with the city what is usually presumed to be the key distinction between the two, *i.e.*, a separate identifiable group of conflict-resolution specialists composing a government. In the family, government may be no less complex than it is in the city. The Oregon Educational Television Project, for example, finds both family democracies (often with specialists in one decision-making area or another as are found in the city by students of community politics) and constitutional family monarchies with one of the parents at the head. Moreover, the deviant in the family is under no less pressure than the nonconformist in the city and is equally receptive to information that he is not the isolate that he supposed.

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[27] Mertz, *op. cit.*, especially Chapter V. The reader may also be interested in another report of the Oregon Educational Television Project, one which describes an experiment designed to persuade subjects that educational television should be of value to them. See Marshall N. Goldstein and John R. Shepherd, *An Experiment in Increasing the Audience for Educational Television* (Preliminary Report Number Five of the University of Oregon's Education Television Project, 1963).

Studies in family politics, however, do not replace experimental evidence drawn from the community, but they do serve to direct the type of experimental design required to test the hypothesis. The schools furnish perfect subjects for analysis. Each year in many school districts the board of education is required to submit to the local voters a referendum permitting a rise in the tax rate for the coming year. In most instances these referenda pass with little opposition, but lately, with increasing frequency, they have failed to obtain voter support. Their defeat has usually been ascribed to high taxes, or to too many frills in the curriculum, or to anger at the way in which the system has been administered, or to a variety of similar factors. In order to test the hypothesis that it is not changes in such attitudes about the proper functioning of public education but changes in participation resulting from a reduction in concern over retaliatory action, a good deal of cooperation between the social scientist and the educator may be necessary. By such cooperation, education stands to gain greater support for policies which must be implemented if knowledge is to be advanced, and social scientists stand to gain the data necessary for evaluating their theories.

Chapter 10

ON THE CONCEPT OF POLITICIZATION

by
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Certain matters not seen as essential to an understanding of local politics in the United States must be taken into account in a comparative research program treating industrially advanced and industrially primitive societies, relatively institutionalized democracies and dictatorships, and political systems where the regime is in flux. In this chapter I propose to adapt, expand, and reformulate—for cross-cultural comparative studies—one aspect of the theoretical framework developed in Agger, Goldrich, and Swanson's *The Rulers and the Ruled.*[1] Such research will facilitate the development of a theory of political systems, local and national. Further, the role of education in society and politics and in the making of educational policy can be better understood to the extent that it is examined within the analytical and empirical context of the political system.

Working on a comparative study within the United States, we—Agger, Goldrich, and Swanson—assumed a relatively high level of acceptance of social manipulation among the people, in the special sense that they are accustomed to changes in their environment and to instigating such changes themselves. These assumptions permitted us to focus on more problematical theoretical and empirical matters in our intra-United States study. Comparative cross-cultural studies, however, require a reassessment of these assumptions, since such a phenomenon as perception of the manipulability of the environment varies greatly among the United States, other developed countries, and the underdeveloped ones. Furthermore, a reformulation for the purpose of inquiring into what has previously been assumed should prove helpful in accounting for variations in politics within the United States as well as those that occur between it and other national polities. In this chapter, then, I propose a variable to be integrated into cross-cultural political system analysis: politicization, beginning with the perception of the relevance of government.

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[1] (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).

THE PERCEPTION OF THE RELEVANCE OF GOVERNMENT: THE BEGINNING OF POLITICIZATION

The Agger-Goldrich-Swanson study made an advance in the study of comparative community politics by treating the formulation of political demands or policies as the first of a series of stages in the decision-making process. (The stages are policy formulation, policy deliberation, organization of political support, authoritative consideration, the decisional outcome—an event, promulgation of the outcome, and policy effectuation.) The study of politics was not confined to an investigation of "issues" but encompassed an inquiry into the conditions under which political demands were formulated, communicated to others, and transformed into overt issues. Although not all of these matters were systematically studied, the political systems were compared with regard to their range of existing issues and demands. A demand in one community not found in another may be simply a function of the difference in the communities' needs or of the suppression of certain demands in one of them, or it may be that the political socialization process has resulted in the internalization of a political value, such as that government should not process certain matters in one community, while these same matters have become the very substance of politics in another. Thus, important aspects of the political system that are ignored by the "pluralist" school became a basic part of the inquiry.

But most of the people in the underdeveloped countries are not even in the political arena perceptually, let alone involved in making demands or attempting to exercise influence. One of the most significant phenomena of the politics of transition is the culturally revolutionary emergence among large population sectors from prepoliticization to a realization that government is manipulable and can be made to meet their needs. The differences between the economically advanced and the underdeveloped countries are not absolute in this regard, however, and thus a truly comparative approach to the study of politics would conceptually accommodate this primary stage. Politicization is here considered to vary from lack of perception of the relevance of government to one's life, through perception of it, to active involvement in politics.

Revolution and Mass Politicization

Revolution often brings about mass politicization. All of the recent Latin American social revolutions have been associated with a tremendous surge of political awareness and activity within the previously quiescent rural lower class, though these sectors of the population were only the ones most dramatically "awakened." ("Revolution" is, of course, an extremely ambiguous term as used here, since a precise understanding of its causal relationship to politicization would require a more systematic conceptualization of its stages. For example, a rise of politicization within the Indian peasantry preceded and catalyzed some of the definitive actions and policies of the Bolivian revolution, whereas the politicization of the Indians of the Guatemalan countryside and of the Cuban peasantry followed the events establishing the revolutions in those countries.) In each case, government was transformed from the role of caretaker for the interests of an oligarchy of wealth, status, and power to that of translator of the condition of the submerged as a state of need and to that of active agent of fulfillment of these needs. Thus one of the most important factors in mass politicization via revolution is interventionist government itself. People learn to perceive the relevance of government through the appearance of governmental programs.

Some major social revolutions have been destroyed, however, and counter-revolutionary repression has been directed against the newly politicized. In Argentina, the labor union base of the *peronista* organization endured these events and appears to have sustained the politicization of the working class. In Guatemala the organizational base of the newly politicized was thoroughly dismantled. With the demise of the *Union Campesina* and similar organizations, the countryside has regained, at least superficially, its pre-1944 character. To what degree have the newly politicized become depoliticized? Were they merely deactivated, or has the experience of counter-revolution and repression actually led to an attrition in the perception of the personal relevance of government?

It is difficult to conceive of such extreme depoliticization, particularly over a relatively short period of time. We have fairly good evidence from history, however, of extreme depoliticization over generations. Indian revolts against the Spanish Empire occurred several times in the Andean region, and their brutal suppression was followed by subsidence into apathy and apparent nonperception of the relevance of government. The same sort of historical sequence occurred in Brazil among escaped slaves. Clearly, then, neither politicization among the "traditionally" politicized nor nonpoliticization among the "traditionally" nonpoliticized should be taken for granted. Politicization is a variable, and major changes in it have occurred over time under a wide variety of circumstances. Political theory must take the phenomenon into account.

FACTORS RETARDING POLITICIZATION

Revolution often brings about mass politicization. This age has come to be characterized by "a revolution of rising expectations," and we know that the great bulk of the populace in the underdeveloped countries exists in miserable circumstances. But revolution is an extremely infrequent event. In the urban centers of Latin America, for example, conditions are appalling to most observers, as population growth and rural migration swamp what were previously inadequate facilities and occupational resources, but a politics of protest among the most deprived is the exception rather than the norm. Although no systematic inquiry into this situation has been made, some case studies are available suggesting factors that operate to retard politicization. These will be very briefly summarized in this chapter

Extreme poverty and stress are much more likely to produce nonpolitical than political orientations and behavior. Davies has reviewed the literature, experimental and otherwise, of reactions to extreme physical and psychological deprivation, concluding that social disorganization (and therefore incapacity for political activity) is the general result, as people focus increasingly on themselves and the maintenance of life.[2] As Hoffer suggests, revolution implies extravagant hope for the future,[3] but it is precisely the absence of a future orientation that characterizes the extremely deprived. Extreme deprivation is, again, a concept as yet so imprecise that it cannot presently be applied to the Latin American environment with predictive value. An important task in the endeavor to understand revolution is the specification and measurement of levels and types of deprivation and their political concomitants. It is to be expected that the *favela* sectors of Latin American cities encompass a subtle, complex stratification system of socio-economic status. For example, Oscar Lewis has described the wide range of possessions and life styles within single *vecindades* of Mexico City,[4] but how this variation is associated with politicization is unknown.

A finding common to many of the case studies of urban life in Latin America is that the family continues to function in an integrated fashion, despite the pressures of the rural in-migrants. A large proportion of the latter appear to have been assisted in their move to the cities by family members and relatives who preceded them. Thus, abrupt change and culture shock have been avoided or muted. In addition, ceremonial kinship *(compadrazgo)* remains operative to an unexpected degree, providing another cushion against adversity. A final factor in this regard is the tendency of rural in-migrants from the same community of origin to settle together in the city. If the family coheres, if relatives abound, and if other residents of the old home community are nearby, the urban Latin American may be much less likely to turn toward government for assistance than most observers have predicted. In fact, since government has been traditionally unresponsive to the condition of the poor and the latter have had little direct experience with it as a problem-solver, it seems all the more likely that they will tend to continue to rely on the familiar—family, kinship, and old community ties, rather than turning toward the alien world of politics.

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[2] James C. Davies, *Human Nature in Politics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1963).

[3] Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer* (New York: New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1958).

[4] Oscar Lewis, *Five Families* (New York: Science Editions, Inc., 1962).

Furthermore, migration to the city does not necessarily mean the dissolution of bonds to the rural community. Alba notes that some urban workers may fall back on family members in their village and upon subsistence agriculture in time of depression in the cities.[5] A resort to politics is not, therefore, the easiest recourse in what is defined as a temporary state of need.

The occupational structure is characterized by a very high proportion of service workers and petty commercial workers (such as street vendors). These people tend to be isolated from one another and to work exceedingly long hours, both of which factors probably serve to reduce any inclination to think about government and politics as a relevant aspect of life. Furthermore, industrial employment has to do with large plants and workers' organizations only in the unusual case, since most industry is of the small, handicraft type. And since large-scale industry has not kept pace with the growth of the urban labor force, this occupational environment may have declining significance as a catalyst of politicization during the foreseeable future.

This brief summary indicates a set of hypotheses about politicization in urban Latin American communities. For example, it is expected that rural in-migrants unable to return to their community of origin in time of adversity will be more politicized than those who can "temporarily" return. Those who have extensive social resources in family, kin, and fellow migrants from the same rural community will be less politicized than the more socially isolated. Those who are moderately deprived will be closer to politicization than those pressed simply to survive. Industrial workers in large plants will be more politicized than those in handicraft operations, who in turn will be more politicized than petty service workers. If the politics of urbanization is to be comprehended, these matters must be investigated over time, since urbanization is a process. Furthermore, the process of politicization may take place over generations, such that the relevance of government is perceived in the *n*th generation after migration. The need for a carefully contrived research design is apparent, however, since succeeding generations may also become less politicized if the standard of living declines over time.

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[5] Victor Alba, "The Latin American Style and the New Social Forces," in A. O. Hirschman (ed.), *Latin American Issues* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1961), pp. 43-51.

SOME COMMENTS ON DISTRIBUTIONS OF POLITICIZATION

There is as yet agreement neither on the utility of the concept of politicization nor on the categories in which it might most fruitfully be considered. None the less, one can easily see that countries within or across culture areas can be compared according to a simple dichotomy of the proportion of nonperceivers of the relevance of government and the proportion of perceivers. More complex typologies of politicization may also be easily formulated, corresponding to those frequently used in research on politics in the United States—for example, the perceptually nonrelated, the perceptually related inactive, the minimally participant, the moderately participant, and the highly participant. We still have had little research on the changes in distribution of such political roles over time and on the manner in which role activation and deactivation vary with the type of regime, the structure of power, the character of the leadership and so forth.

The only work that has attempted to measure distribution of what may be termed politicization on a cross-cultural comparative basis is the recent book by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture.*[6] Their findings (on the United States, Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico) are in accordance with those of Daniel Lerner,[7] that politicization increases with the level of economic development of the society.

With the level of economic development held constant, however, one would expect significant variation as a consequence of political factors. One completely untouched area of importance is the variation in politicization under totalitarian and nontotalitarian conditions. It seems likely that, controlling on economic development, there will be less nonpoliticization under totalitarianism, but the frequency of high and moderate politicization under the two sets of conditions is much more difficult to speculate about.

MODES OF POLITICIZATION

Once it has been assessed that people are minimally politicized, that they perceive the personal relevance of government, many further significant questions remain concerning the direction or style of politicization, as opposed to the amount of it. I have abstracted some of the qualitative types that appear to have importance in the politics of Latin America and elsewhere; they are termed modes of politicization and will be briefly described in the following paragraphs.

The Defensive Type

The defensive are politicized in reaction to others' demands or policies. This mode seems to appear most frequently among those close to the margin of survival, for example, shanty-dwellers on the urban fringe. Facing a threat of removal, these squatters may rise up in protest. Austerity programs, characterized by higher basic commodity costs and higher consumer taxes, have also provoked this defensive reaction. In Latin America, this phenomenon seems to have a short life span. Demonstrations explode but then quickly subside, indicating a lack of resources for sustained politicization, since the policy or act provoking the demonstrations often remains in force. A useful line of inquiry would focus on those deviant cases where defensive politicization has been transformed to a mode more self-sustained and programmatic in character. In the United States, for example, taxpayer revolts, particularly in the context of local bond elections, may represent counterparts to anti-austerity manifestations in Latin America, but in this country, the defensively politicized have increasingly become relatively constant participants in politics through the organizing activity of the Radical Right leadership.[8] Conceivably, the formal institutional structure of local government in the United States, insofar as it requires frequent popular elections on matters of public finance, may be an important factor facilitating this transformation.

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[6] (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963). I have done a pilot study on the incidence and degree of politicization among student samples in two countries; this is reported in "A Comparative Study of the Political Socialization of Puerto Rican and Panamanian Schoolboys," in Frank A. Pinner (ed.), *Genesis of Political Behavior* (forthcoming).

[7] Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958).

The Margin-oriented Type

An individual who is politicized in this mode seeks to create a special margin in his relationships with others, usually of an economic nature. One of the most widespread manifestations of margin-orientation is the *mordida*, the "bite," required of a client before many Latin American officials will perform their services. But it is also apparent in private transactions, as is illustrated in Lewis' descriptions of life in Mexico City.[9] The origin of the *mordida*, or its changing function over time, is not known with any certainty, although it appears to have played an important part in Spanish colonial history. Today, however, it would seem to be an adaptation to the physical and biological difficulties of life in the urban environment, where resources are so scanty for so many and occupational insecurity is the norm. Under these conditions, special margins are an economic necessity for those who build them. The political consequence would appear to be a disinclination or incapacity to think politically in general terms. The focus is on the specific and immediate. "Programs" and "politics" tend to lack meaning. Whether a mode of *immediate gratification* exists independently from margin-orientation remains for further theoretical speculation and empirical inquiry, but this phenomenon also appears to be widespread among the poor. In fact, the needs underlying the demands for immediate gratification may be so great that an ideologically- and future-oriented political movement may be unable to attain the commitment of the poverty-stricken (in which case the future course of economic development in Latin America will probably be associated with systematic coercion of the mass, in order to achieve higher production and delayed consumption).

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[8] See Agger, *et al., op. cit.,* Chapters 13 and 14.
[9] Lewis, *op. cit.*

Personalism-Paternalism

Emphasis on personal relationships in politics and reliance on the *patrón* have long appeared to be outstanding characteristics of Latin American politics. None the less, these have never been subjected to rigorous formulation, nor has the distribution of these modes ever been measured either within the region or on a comparative cross-cultural basis. Silvert argues that these modes inhibit the full development of the modern, secular nation-state, one characteristic of which is the institutionalization of change.[10] Although many social scientists have expected personalism and paternalism in Latin America to diminish with economic development and urbanization, these orientations continue to be widely manifested in the cities, even in those most industrially advanced.[11] This suggests the possibility that urbanization and economic development in general may be occurring in Latin America in ways culturally distinct from the Western European and United States experience. In any case, it seems of critical importance to know how these modes relate to such major societal changes as economic development and the conditions under which they become transformed into impersonalism.[12]

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[10] See his "National Values, Development, and Leaders and Followers" (forthcoming).

[11] See Richard M. Morse's *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of Sao Paulo, Brazil* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958).

Radical Efficacy

Perhaps least comprehended in the United States, this mode characterizes those who believe in the "impossible," in the accomplishment of great changes, such as the remaking of society or the capture of control over the nation's destiny. This mode is highly significant in that the radically efficacious provide one alternative route to economic development in circumstances that render more gradual, "rational," bureaucratic means politically unlikely and unattractive. That is, many of the contemporary social, economic, and political oligarchies in Latin America appear to be virtually absolutely committed to the *status quo* so that moderate attempts at reform relying on persuasion seem destined to failure. Furthermore, the task of development is so tremendous that greatly improved standards of living appear highly improbable in the foreseeable future. Given these conditions, the radically efficacious have an important resource, the capacity to mobilize the masses through the use of potent ideology (usually focusing on nationalism, social revolution, etc.). Unable in the short-run to "deliver" a higher level of living, they can provide other values to the traditionally subjugated, the most important of which is a feeling of dignity, of political participation (not to be confused, of course, with actual participation nor the wielding of influence), of citizenship as equals. The preceding description fits the Cuban case closely.

In contrast to many of the previously described modes, radical efficacy appears primarily to characterize the relatively advantaged rather than those of lower socio-economic status. Radical efficacy seems to occur where relatively well-off people experience sharp frustration with respect to any of a wide range of values. In Latin America, frequent sources of frustration are under-employment of intellectuals, disparagement of the nation by other nations, lack of access to power as a function of military rule, and so forth.

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[12] K. H. Silvert and Frank Bonilla address themselves to these matters in systematic fashion in their forthcoming volume, *Education and the Social Meaning of Development.*

Administrative-oriented Type Versus Policy-oriented Type

A mode of politicization that seems to characterize a large proportion of United States and Latin American citizens may be termed the administrative-oriented type, as opposed to the policy-oriented type. The distinction here is adapted from the concept of administrative versus political decision-making, developed by Agger *et al.*[13]

> . . . A demand or a decision-making process is deemed administrative if it is regarded by its maker or by participants in it as involving relatively routine implementations of a prior, generally applicable decision; and if it implicates relatively minor values of a relatively few people at any one time, with "technical" criteria available to guide the technically trained expert in his selection of one or another alternative outcomes as the decision. A political demand or political decision-making process, in contrast, is conceived by the maker or participants as involving relatively extraordinary review of an existing decision, or an entirely new decision, and implicating relatively major values or a relatively large number of people, with value judgments or preferences rather than "technical" criteria as the major factors in determining the selection by "policy-makers" of one or another alternative outcomes as the decision. . . .

Since administrative decision-making, as here defined, is so stressed by an American culture that discourages major changes and extreme demands, and since administrative decision-making is rationalized as a developed form of democracy in which the many contenders join battle from positions of relatively equal strength so that emerging decisions are moderate compromises, it seems reasonable to posit a political socialization process that inculcates administrative orientations. This mode of politicization is regarded as analytically distinct from the substance of particular political issues, but since the administratively oriented resist sweeping change, seeking at most amendment rather than reform, it is likely to occur in association with the substantively conservative position. Thus, in Latin America I would expect to find this mode primarily characteristic of the established, privileged sectors, that desire to maintain the *status quo*, whereas policy-orientation would probably be more typical of the dissatisfied. In office, however, many erstwhile dissidents become sobered when they realize that attaining formal power is not the same as attaining a monopoly of political power and that they are confronted by a dilemma: either they can try to institute major changes in the face of a socially and economically entrenched opposition, or they can give up great leaps forward and expand the scope of government through gradual administrative decisions. This has been the obvious dilemma of the *aprista* leaders in Latin America and is one faced currently by Rómulo Betancourt in Venezuela and Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic. Thus, here again, it is difficult even to speculate on the distribution of particular modes of politicization in the Latin American area as compared to the United States, so empty is the field of empirical investigation and data related to the theoretical issue.

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[13] Robert E. Agger, "Political Science and the Study of Administration," in Lawrence W. Downey and Frederick Enns (eds.), *The Social Sciences and Educational Administration* (Edmonton: The Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1963), p. 51.

SUMMARY

Politicization has been suggested as a logical first stage in the political decision-making process. While differences between world culture areas are in large part reflections of differences in politicization, this same variable also helps to account for differences within culture areas or nations.

The politics of the developing areas is in important degree a politics of politicization in the sense that great masses of the population are coming to perceive politics as relevant to their lives, a phenomenon which constitutes, indeed, a cultural revolution. While this may perhaps be considered an age of politicization, it must be remembered that some of those currently regarded as "traditionally" nonpoliticized were once, at least sporadically, politicized to the point of revolution. At present we know little about the upsurge and subsidence of politicization either in developing or in highly developed areas, but it is clear that history provides many cases useful for the development of a theory of politicization which will be limited in its application neither to a particular historical period nor to a particular geographical area.

Politicization has at least two dimensions: extent and mode. Though the extent dimension is more readily comprehended than the matter of modes, systematic information about distributions of politicization under varying cultural, economic, and political conditions—let alone about factors producing change in such distributions—is extremely sparse.

The modes of politicization sketched out in this chapter represent a very preliminary formulation. In many cases these modes appear to be interrelated. Several probably occur in syndromes. The concept of politicization will require much more precise formulation before the start of extensive empirical inquiry into the nature of modes, their distribution, and conditions of change.

SECTION THREE

Social Values, Research, and Action

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Introduction to Section Three

One of the distinctive aspects of the seminar discussions was the tendency of participants to set priorities for theory and research on the basis of their individual and collective political values. While this tendency was noted parenthetically, it became a subject for deliberate discussion only very briefly—at one of the group's final meetings. Following the close of the meetings, there was a general feeling that the subject should have been explored more fully and thoroughly. As a consequence one of the participants was invited to prepare a chapter (1) that would shed light on the political values of theorists and researchers involved in the study of community politics and education and (2) that would spell out the implications of these values for the organization, scope, and utility of such studies.

In this section, Agger discusses the ways in which the theorist-researcher's political and social values help to shape his concepts, theories, observations, and conclusions. Is it either possible or desirable, he asks, to pursue a "value-free" social science in this or any other field of inquiry? Or is the idea of a "value-free" social science little more than an illusion and, worse, one which has a damaging narcotic effect on our ability to produce really valuable kinds of social knowledge? Finally, and perhaps most portentously from the standpoint of future research in our field, of what significance to the organization of collaborative research enterprises are the social and political values of the collaborators? If a truly satisfying and fruitful partnership is to be sustained between academic social scientists and students and practitioners of educational administration, need the partners share central political and social objectives? Or can contradictory social and political values be sufficiently well managed and controlled to permit the existence of a productive and mutually satisfactory partnership despite possible incompatibilities? Agger closes with a strong proposal for an entirely new kind of collaborative enterprise—one designed not only to facilitate purposeful exploration of political values but also to hasten clarification of the implications of such values for both theory and research.

Chapter 11

POLITICAL RESEARCH AS POLITICAL ACTION

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There are a variety of major misconceptions extant about the role of a social scientist's political values in research and theory-building in the area of community political systems, as well as serious value conflicts among social scientists. These need to be made explicit prior to the development of collaborative investigations. To some of us this need seems to be particularly pressing in connection with the study of community educational institutions and of the policy-making dynamics which guide those institutions. Yet it is probably equally pressing where any other aspect of the study of society is concerned. In this chapter I shall attempt (1) to spell out why this need for value explication exists, both generally in the social sciences and particularly in the study of the politics of education in the local community; (2) to give some indication of the costs which we will have to pay for failure to recognize that need; and (3) to indicate the rewards that can be expected if we do recognize it and respond to it with adequate strategies.

There is, in schools of education, increasing attention devoted to the developing area of community power structure, community political systems, or educational decision-making in the community. Courses, particularly in educational administration curricula, are increasingly treating that subject as their central concern. Books that summarize major studies of community politics are being written by faculty members of schools of education,[1] and monographs are reporting on conferences that are more or less centrally concerned with the relevance of studies of community politics for educational administration.[2] Perhaps the major rationale, more or less explicitly stated for professional educators, for this increased attention to studies of community politics is the need of the school superintendent or principal to be prepared to deal adequately with a host of community environmental forces that will impinge upon him in his role as educational decision-maker.

In this perspective it is assumed that knowledge of the characteristics of important community decision-makers and variations therein associated with different kinds of communities—the kind of knowledge presumably being produced by specialists in community politics—minimally will increase the school administrator's ability to maintain peace and order in the conduct of his tasks. His "leadership" role can be carried out more effectively, whether this be to maintain the school's current level of operations and programs, to increase or change the character of the resource inputs and outputs of local education, or to achieve any other state of affairs which he regards as valuable. The perceived need is for improved training in "community," "school and community," or "public relations"—whatever the descriptive term. It is increasingly felt that the more the school administrator understands community political dynamics, the more effectively he can lead, educate, get along with, or manipulate the powers-that-be in order to achieve his goals as a professional educator.

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[1] R. B. Knapp, *Social Integration in Urban Communities: A Guide for Educational Planning* (New York: Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960).

[2] The present volume is a case in point. See also L. W. Downey and Frederick Enns (eds.), *The Social Sciences and Educational Administration* (Edmonton: The Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1963).

Such is the way that professional administrators and professors of administration seem to define their major need to know more about the results of studies by social scientists of community politics. Other definitions of that need are current, but whatever the definition, there seems to be a consensus on the "objective" nature of social science investigations of the subject. This same consensus, moreover, is shared by many social scientists as well as by professional educators. I have no quarrel with the increasing awareness that schools are political institutions; in fact, there is an inadequate appreciation of the political history of universal public education on the part of many professional educators. This contributes to an unduly surprised indignation on their part when the purposes and functioning of schools become political issues under conditions of socio-political change. This can be witnessed today in regard to the roles of schools in race relations and in reference to teaching civics, i.e., about governments—national, foreign, and international. Many professional educators, partly because they mistakenly view as non-political such issues as the neighborhood school versus a lessening of *de facto* school segregation or the appropriate curriculum involving teaching about communist and capitalist systems, strenuously resist citizen efforts to decide what are regarded as properly professional, expert, neutral, objective decisional questions. The aspect of the consensus among educators which concerns me here, however, is the shared assumption that research on and theory about community political systems are completely or substantially "value-free," a pursuit of *the truth* which is fundamentally unaffected by the political values of the social scientist.

The sentiment that the professional school administrator cannot and should not be trained to be a social scientist actively participating in such studies is reinforced by the sense of the neutral, objective pursuit of understanding by community analysts, whose findings then can be absorbed by the administrator in pursuit of his own educational values. I shall argue against that sentiment after I have explained my inability to accept common assumptions about the value-free pursuit of the truth. I shall argue that such an orientation (shared by both professional administrators and social scientists) has helped to foster and sustain a significant current of conservatism in American politics at all levels—community, state, and national—and needs to be rejected by those of us who reject that kind of conservatism, whether we are social scientists or professors of education.

One of the immediate consequences of this line of argument is the following suggestion. A high priority need for those committed to the pursuit of knowledge in regard to community political systems is the development, with sufficient financial and other supporting resources, of appropriate settings for the full-time, serious consideration and clarification—with like-minded fellows—of their respective goals, their philosophies of education, and their philosophies of political democracy. This would not be a precondition or prior stage of the development of collaborative, comparative research designs for the study of community politics, but an integral part of the first and succeeding stages of such designs. It would be, consequently, a contribution to the development of empirically rooted political theory in this area, as well as a contribution to the reformulation of old, and the formulation of new, philosophies relevant to the modern conditions of, and trends in, organized societies, economies and polities. Given the near-vacuum of dynamic democratic philosophies of life that take into account modern automation, mass communication, and major metropolises, I am urging that social scientists and professional administrators join together in explicating their feelings of dissatisfaction with aspects of community life, their hunches about the paths to improvement, and the kinds of more utopian patterns that might be possible in this day and age. To the extent that there is general concurrence in such perspectives, these scholars should then continue to work together in the field research ventures which are absolutely necessary to provide the kinds of valid and reliable theoretical knowledge that are needed by educational-political philosophies for their continual development and redevelopment, processes which are essential to creative satisfying philosophy in a constantly changing world.

THE OMNIPRESENCE OF VALUES IN SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY

The role of values in social science research is generally acknowledged to be more or less important in the selection of problems for study. Self-proclaimed humanists who conceive of themselves pursuing knowledge in other than scientific ways occasionally argue that the social scientist is unaware of the importance of his personal values in selecting problems for study or, if he is so aware, has values that lead him to select trivial problems from the point of view of the "great issues" or the things that should matter to men in the modern world. The latter is the more damning indictment.

Other analysts have pointed to additional ways that values necessarily infuse social science research. Churchman, for example, has pointed up the necessity of basing one's decision to run risks of accepting false or rejecting true hypotheses on one's values.[8] In medical research, for example, the researcher's relative dedication to preserving life or advancing knowledge, to preserving or extending life in the short-run or the long-run, to human versus sub-human animal life, and other such value considerations, all may contribute to the scientific standards used in rejecting or accepting hypotheses. However provisional and tentative we regard such a value-impregnated assessment of the results of a particular piece of research to be, it may very well become a crucial and influential piece in a mosaic of scientific theory and, as such, be practically inaccessible to further research and testing.

In the "soft" social sciences, particularly those that are actively testing hypotheses with small numbers of communities, the tendency is to set a relatively low level of confidence in one's findings. Given the difficulties involved in setting more rigorous standards for accepting or rejecting hypotheses, it is not unnatural to find community analysts accepting hypotheses which they are unconsciously or consciously predisposed to accept and rejecting those which they are similarly predisposed to reject. To be sure, more adequate, albeit very costly, research designs may be available to reduce the scope of this problem. Churchman points out the inevitability of value judgments in the hypothesis-testing phases of the best research designs. His examples indicate that even the selection of a statistical test from a set of existing alternatives is dependent on the analyst's values.[4]

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[8] C. W. Churchman, *Theory of Experimental Inference* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948).

My major quarrel with the assumption that the social scientist who is engaged in community research is substantially value-free, or at least aware and in control of his values, and that he is engaged in a pursuit of "the truth" does not, however, stem from these sources of research value-shaping—although it is related to them as a consequence of our conception of the meaning of "truth" and knowledge regarding human behavior. What I quarrel with is the very image of a pursuit of *the* truth as if this were a matter of a singular theory, a theory that somehow exists somewhere "out there" to be apprehended by any and all theorists who employ scientific methods to discover, evaluate, modify, and improve that theory. It is this image which needs to be rejected for short- or even medium-range research and theory-building in community studies, especially in the study of community politics (however valid such an image may be in the very long-run). Given the fantastic number of value-oriented choices that must be made in the process of developing a general theory, the notion that the pursuit of truth about men in communities or in other socio-political settings is not drastically affected by the investigator's explicit and implicit value commitments cannot be maintained. Where the study of community politics is concerned, what needs to be understood is that political research, by its very nature as a pursuit of knowledge guided constantly by political values—however implicit, unrecognized, and ambiguous those values may be—is a form of political action. Political research, in the community and elsewhere, needs to be understood in this light by those who engage in it and by those who use it, and its consequences for the quality and character of the polity in which it is pursued need to be explored, evaluated, and subjected to purposeful control—the central feature of any political act.

One of the very first basic tasks of the theory-builder or researcher is to decide, on the basis of one or another set of value premises, what constructs, concepts, or dimensions he will use in his inquiries. The number of such concepts is very large if not infinite. The strategies for selecting concepts range from taking over those that are currently being worked on by one or more groups of theorists, through using concepts which have developed long histories but which are not being worked with currently, to the formulation of entirely new concepts, this last being the most creative and difficult task of all. (Ordinarily the most interesting attempts at theory-building have employed some mixture of these diverse strategies.) Furthermore, not only does the theoretical problem that concerns the theorist help to determine which one, or which mixture, of these strategies he chooses. The very statement or conception of the problem itself requires the adoption of some such strategy.

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[4] *Ibid.*

More frequently than not in community research, as in social science generally and certainly in physical science, investigators simply work with a set of concepts that happens currently to be prominent in their field. The very act of accepting an empirical domain together with some set of dimensions for the purpose, perhaps, of testing a hypothesis inadequately tested heretofore, or of testing a hypothesis under newly chosen conditions with a view to further specifying the limits of its generalizability, or of testing a new hypothesis derived from existing theory is in itself a value-choice. This is necessarily the case whether or not the investigator is conscious of it. Any such act constitutes at least a *de facto* statement that the given concepts or dimensions are of some value in the attainment of knowledge. However much the theorist-researcher might want to escape the value-implications of his actions, he cannot. The scientist who prefers to deny or repress his awareness of the value-implications of his research resembles the citizen under a despotic regime who, by withdrawing from politics, feels that he may decline responsibility for the continuation of that regime. Various political philosophers would argue—rightly, we think—that unless a man rebels he deserves to be regarded as acquiescing in the constitutional order, however despotic it may be.

Whatever may be the case in the most advanced physical sciences, the researcher in community politics who accepts the major concepts and theoretical notions of his day is foregoing possibilities of developing and exploiting alternative concepts and theoretical notions (assuming for the moment an interest in one set of phenomena rather than another). What I want to urge here is that two different sets of alternatives need to be explicitly taken into account in the development of strategies for community research. One is the set of alternatives which consists in the range of problems which are of potential interest to researchers and theorists, and the second is the set of all those alternative problems which remain even after a particular problem is chosen for attention. The basic reason for recognizing both choice-making situations is the fact that in the absence of a current general theory, the phenomena that constitute community behavior, or the domain of educational decision-making, or whatever the boundaries put on the domains of interest make it possible for many equally truthful theories to be constructed, elaborated, and validated. Since all such theories for the next number of years or decades must be partial, they may refer to different aspects of the "same" phenomena without contradicting one another. It is the multiplicity of conceptions of community phenomena inherent in the nature of knowledge-seeking vis-à-vis the socio-political as well as the physical worlds in which we live that produces an unavoidable need to pick and choose on the basis of values, the images of reality with which we prefer to work.

Given this situation, my position is that the community analyst ought to shape his social-scientific values more self-consciously in terms of his personal-political values. There are, to be sure, certain risks inherent in this line of action, but these risks may well be outweighed by the possible gains entailed by the adoption of such a strategy. Perhaps I can illustrate the nature and implications of this position in the context of contemporary community research.

One of the major currents of research and theory-building concern and debate in the study of community politics or decision-making has to do with the character of political leadership groups and particularly with the degree to which they are monopolistic or pluralistic in their interests, authority, and power in various decisional domains. Briefly, one set of analysts purports to find a single set of men exercising effective leadership or influence in a variety of decision-making domains, "scopes," or "issue-areas" relative to local government policy, while another set of analysts purports to find specialization of leadership by domain, scope, or issue-area to be the general rule. Apart from other aspects of this controversy, methodological and otherwise, it is instructive to note that both sets of analysts seem to agree that it is important to establish what the state of affairs actually is in regard to this one particular variable: general versus specialized leadership.

It would appear that the two contenders in this dispute base their interest in this variable on similar premises. To put it briefly, these two sets of analysts share certain basic political values. The so-called pluralists seem to believe that the finding of specialization means that American democracies at the community level are "better" than they might otherwise be. They seem to be defensive when it is charged that a small number of men control many policy-making domains. This reaction would appear to derive from the prior attachment of a high (implicit) valuation both to extensive citizen participation in politics and to the kind of diversity of interests and perspectives which is suggested by leadership specialization. Little attention seems to be paid by the pluralists to the implications of the finding that relatively small numbers of men predominate as active participants over time within particular domains. Perhaps it is unnecessary to point out that, other things being equal, given x number of active participants, the number who are active *within* particular domains is smaller to the degree there *is* leadership specialization.

There are still other supposed implications of leadership specialization which the pluralist seems to value. If, for example, specialization in decision-making does reflect heterogeneous political interests, and if the expression and actualization of such interests release or discourage the building up of frustrations and hostilities which might result in physical and other undesirable types of political conflict, perhaps even in revolution, then specialization is good—assuming, as the pluralists seem to do, that revolutions are undesirable. Those who see general or monopolistic rather than specialized or pluralistic community political leaderships seem to place equal or even greater value than do the pluralists on extensive citizen participation in decision-making and seem to adhere also to the view that monopolistic leadership leads to undesirable differential satisfactions of political interests (bemoaning, perhaps, the absence of a more militant body politic as a corollary of the perceived condition of general, monopolistic leadership). In any event, both pluralists and so-called power elitists closely resemble each other in regard to at least some facets of their political values as well as to some of the major constructs in their respective theories of community political systems. This is true even though they differ substantially in their assessments of the actual condition of specialization-generalization of political leaderships in, and the relatively democratic-undemocratic character of, American community politics.

The point that I would like to make in regard to these two currently influential schools of thought is that they are stimulating a great deal of research and resource investments of all kinds in the pursuit of a variable and question that constitutes but one of a host of other possible variables and questions. Furthermore, I intend to argue that other kinds of conceptions and dimensions and other kinds of questions about the workings of American community political systems *should* have higher priority in the development of collaborative comparative community political research. In the pages which follow, I shall give one example of an alternative concern which I feel deserves to be pursued vigorously at the present time.

THEORETICAL-RESEARCH ALTERNATIVES AND SOME RISKS

A traditional concern of political theory has been the relationship between "human nature" and political systems. In the years that witnessed the beginnings of the scientific approach to the study of political phenomena, leading to its temporary flowering at the University of Chicago, James Bryce had this to say about the place of human nature in political science:

> As the tendencies of human nature are the permanent basis of study which gives to the subject called

> Political Science whatever scientific quality it possesses, so the practical value of that science consists in tracing and determining the relation of these tendencies to the institutions which men have created for guiding their life in a community.[5]

Harold Lasswell has kept alive the interest in personality and politics almost single-handedly in recent years, but studies on various psychological factors in political behavior have been burgeoning, and James C. Davies, a political scientist, has recently published a treatise entitled *Human Nature in Politics*.[6]

Whereas recent research has focused on the possible causal effects of psychological factors on political behavior, Bryce made the point effectively that the proponent of democracy is committed to an assumption that such a political system also feeds back on personality or character:

> Such institutions have also a retroactive action upon those who live under them. Helping men to goodwill, self-restraint, intelligent co-operation, they form what we call a solid political character, temperate and law-abiding, preferring peaceful to violent means for settlement of controversies.[7]

Whether this is or is not the case, the question of under what conditions and to what degree and in what ways various kinds of democratic institutional arrangements affect political or human character is the kind of question that I would urge, given my political values and perspectives on the state of the world, be assigned top priority in developing research programs.

Such a variable as character or personality may or may not make the degree of specialization in political leadership a theoretically relevant variable to investigate, at least at the outset. Whatever the importance attached to it in the field of community political research at the moment, reflection on alternative variables of the sort proposed as but one example of many may result in a re-evaluation and lessening of that importance. An interest in the shaping of personalities by political systems might well direct research, at the outset, to the study of what has been referred to as the early "political socialization" process.

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[5] James Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. 1 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), p. 10.

[6] J. C. Davies, *Human Nature in Politics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1963). See also Christian Bay, *The Structure of Freedom* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1958), and the citations therein.

[7] Bryce, *op. cit.*

Studies of the ways in which children of school-age years develop (or fail to develop) political identifications and perspectives of the comparative roles of family, peer, and school curriculum influence and other such investigations are proceeding after years of neglect.[8] Given the importance of education in the development of citizens in Plato's writings, the amount of resources being devoted to political research on that topic is surprisingly minute. What is required is that political scientists who are not trained psychologists must attempt to develop collaborative research projects with such specialists. Furthermore, graduate students need to be encouraged to focus on families and schools as political systems if they think such studies should focus there either initially or permanently. Yet resistances within political science and sociology departments, to take two examples, to defining such institutions as political and consequently legitimate dissertation topics for doctoral candidates are far from being negligible in many universities.

Another consequence of such concerns might be the development of cross-national comparative studies of community decision-making. American communities may be more similar than different in their political systems in regard to impacts of politics on personality-development. The process of education in the United States may bear the distinctive stamp of a single national political system operating through a network of nationally influenced or inter-state channels of curriculum-making. Studies of communities in countries whose political systems differ substantially from our own may be necessary to explore satisfactorily possible variations in the impact of educational processes on citizen character from system to system.

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[8] The following are some of the political scientists actively engaged in programs of such research: Frank Pinner, Michigan State University; Daniel Goldrich, University of Oregon; David Easton, University of Chicago; and Fred Greenstein, Wesleyan University.

Of even greater urgency is the need to develop, elaborate, and operationally define models of character or "human nature" before any great amount of fruitful theoretical speculation will be possible and before research designs can actually be developed to explore systematically relationships between community political systems and psychological attributes or dynamics of individuals and groups. It is here that values are likely to make their most immediate, pronounced impact. The kinds of models that need to be considered and built are not only a function of what kinds of concepts and models are already extant. They are also very much a function of what kinds of personality characteristics the model-builders like or dislike. A disposition to inflict pain upon, or to respect, others may or may not qualify for inclusion in such models. Autonomous, creative, productive thinking might be another dimension of interest, subject at least to clarification of what the meaning and connotations of such terms may be. Psychological characteristics conceived partially in terms of social-psychological content, beliefs and belief systems of various kinds, as well as possible structurings of such systems, may be of equal concern. Models of basic personality structure, as that term is used technically, come close to incorporating both "inner," "deep," or "fundamental" personality mechanisms and various kinds of socio-political content. This is the case, for example, in the work reported by Adorno and his associates in *The Authoritarian Personality* and in that reported by Merton in his inquiries into bureaucratic structure and personality.[9] One does not have to be a rabbi or a minister to acknowledge that Freud, his predecessors, and his successors were all manifestly motivated by a concern with alleviating and preventing human misery as they engaged in their impressively value-laden model-building and theoretical constructions.

What goes into such model-building efforts by community analysts interested in such matters will be very much affected by the kinds of values they hold, their feelings of dissatisfaction with various aspects of community life, their hunches about possibly fruitful paths to improvement, and the kinds of utopian patterns which they think might possibly be realized in some future time if not in this decade or even in this century. Some researchers are relatively unconcerned about, or satisfied with, the human condition in its personality or character aspect as they know it in their own lives and communities. Others may go so far as to idealize actual personality types characteristic of their time and place which are abhorrent to the "liberal democrat" or the "progressive conservative" or other discontented change-oriented researcher.

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[9] T. W. Adorno, *et al.*, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950). See also Robert K. Merton, *et al.* (eds.), *Reader in Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), pp. 361-371.

Social scientists ought not to engage in collaborative research if their personalities clash to the point of disrupting their working relationship. So, too, should they try to avoid compromises on values and, hence, on variables thought to be most important simply for the purpose of permitting them to collaborate on research ventures that are too large for a single researcher. The actual alternatives to such group compromises frequently turn out to be two in number. In the first place, single individuals may continue to head up research projects, thereby avoiding the kinds of theoretical compromises and avoidances that may otherwise be necessary. The cost of following this course of action may be that we will have to content ourselves with unduly small, distorted, or inappropriate research projects when larger, collaborative ventures are in order. The second course of action is the one which is urged here: the joining together of groups with relatively consensual value, and hence research priorities.

The major costs to this latter course of action are at least twofold, but the first may be a blessing in disguise. To follow this course means, first of all, to expend a greater amount of effort in devising ways to come together to discuss and clarify political values and, in that context, to work out conceptual and research priorities. Such an investment of time and energy in the earliest stages of collaborative research, however, may not only be a necessary condition for intellectual progress. It may also be sufficient to initiate and set in motion the kind of sharp refocusing of attention, interest, and energy that marks the intellectual pursuit in its fullest flowering.

The second set of possible costs to the line of action urged here involves the violation of some aspects of a widely shared image of a "value-free" social science. To follow the suggested course would make groups of social scientists with relatively clear-cut and acknowledged value-orientations targets for laymen who share other values, a process that is observable even today with implicit, traditional, camouflaged political values of social scientists serving to bring the wrath of particular political forces down on them and on their research sponsors or funding foundations. It would also probably make financing from the major foundations even more difficult to obtain—at least in the short-run. To the extent that groups of social scientists were engaged, in the manner advocated, in clarifying their own picture of political and community utopias, major differences, I predict, would become obvious in regard to at least certain features of the political perspectives, values, and ideologies shared consciously or unconsciously by key foundation personnel and such social science groups. As Hans Morgenthau has put it:

> A political science, true to its moral commitment, ought at the very least to be an unpopular undertaking. At its very best, it cannot help being a subversive and revolutionary force with regard to certain vested interests—intellectual, political, economic, and social in general.[19]

The behavioral sciences are currently under sharp attack by the Radical Right for a variety of understandable reasons, not the least of which is the fact that probably a great majority of behavioral scientists are "liberals"—at least as that ideology is defined by the Radical Right leadership. The usual response to such attacks is to insist on the value-free, truth-oriented character of social science and to maintain a posture of objective tolerance in the light of a movement that endangers the pursuit of knowledge.[11] Let me be very clear about my position which is, to say the least, at variance with that response.

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[19] H. J. Morgenthau, "Power as a Political Concept," in Roland Young (ed.), *Study of Politics* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1958), p. 72.

I am not suggesting that social scientists falsify their findings in the pursuit of their values. Far from it. Nor am I maintaining that truth is ultimately relativistic in nature. Instead, I am saying that there are many more or less discrete bodies of truth which need to be pursued rigorously by social scientists who share not only a similar epistemology, a similar set of scientific canons and methods for evaluating truths, but a similar set of political and social values as well. The response to the Radical Right ought to be put in terms of an acknowledgment that many—but (in the author's case, at least) not all—value premises of that movement and of social scientists do differ. Such a response should argue plainly that these diverse values need to be explored in whatever dialogues are possible, if any, and that the empirical truths "discovered" by particular social scientists are—by the nature of the scientific world—offered for others to study through replications, to validate or invalidate, to modify or discard, and to be compared in their utility with the empirical truths "discovered" by social scientists who are pursuing different subjects or the same subjects with different value-orientations and/or concepts and theories.

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[11] See, for example, H. M. Proshansky and R. I. Evans, "The 'Radical Right': A Threat to the Behavioral Sciences," *Journal of Social Issues*, XIX (April, 1963), pp. 102-103.

Some advocate that the social scientist play two self-conscious roles: one as an objective seeker-after-truth and the other as social philosopher. The latter role would be pursued to the point when the former role could be invoked, with neither role played simultaneously, but both played in alternating sequence. I would not quarrel with this advice, unless the discreteness of the roles were adhered to too rigidly.

The position that psychology is properly concerned, not with socio-political variations, but with "the rather abstract, general psychological properties that characterize all humans," and that it ought to remain so is argued by Richard A. Littman. See his "Psychology: The Socially Indifferent Science," *American Psychologist*, XVI (1961), p. 235. To the extent that such a value preference were pursued, psychology would be more of a physical than a social science—as it is for many psychologists today. This position, unfortunately in my view, would probably tend to impede the development of a significant social psychology, or it might, if its consequences were sufficiently appreciated, stimulate the development of a productive social psychology within the framework of the other social sciences. The latter is doubtful for the immediate future since resistance to productive cooperation and multi-disciplinary training, among political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, and economists, is already so strong that to extend the collaborative and training focus to include psychology in its "social" orientations would seem to be almost impossible. Yet it must be admitted that no matter how politically and sociologically naive the psychologist nor how ill-trained and self-trained in psychology the political scientist or sociologist, perhaps the most stimulating and productive work in a politically relevant social psychology that is self-consciously value-oriented has been done by such marginal men. Rejection and resistance by one's discipline may be a contributory, if not a necessary, condition for significant research and theory-building.

The counter-claim that all social scientists share a particular set of values—namely, liberalism—can be met in part by identifying cases of social scientists who are politically of the Right, even if not quite so far to the Right as some laymen would like them to be (although there *are* instances of Radical Rightists in the ranks of social scientists today). Even if it is unsuccessful, and no matter how injurious its immediate consequences may be, outright opposition to any and all efforts to destroy the pursuit of *truths* would seem to be in order. Efforts to evade, however well intended, are testaments to the status of a political movement whose numbers do not warrant such evasion, or if its influence is greater than we suppose, evasive efforts constitute the kind of political irresponsibility, timidity, and concern with comfort that has been the hallmark of all too many intellectuals and "liberals" in every notable case of the establishment of a totalitarian regime. Efforts to avoid a political struggle are not due, for the most part, to such motives. Instead, they are usually due to the social scientist's sincere misapprehension that his personal political values are not very much involved in his scientific work. To the extent that outright opposition proves effective in maintaining freedom of inquiry, we will be that much closer to the development of systematic research and theory which may very well result in the correction of those conditions which now disturb the Radical Right and may even help to usher in a set of conditions which will mitigate or even eliminate the conflict between the Right and the Left.

Any and every pursuit of knowledge—whether it be in regard to the possibilities of atomic fission or fusion, of providing governmental programs of social security, of substituting democracy for monarchy, or of providing public education for all—must initially violate the sense of propriety of at least some groups who approve an established way of doing things. Yet the sociology of knowledge suggests that any stance other than an optimistic one, any belief that initially great opposition may not be superseded by equally great support in the future, is unwarranted. Yet the skeptical and even cynical view that intellectual innovation openly committed to value positions which differ from those which are dominant in the polity will necessarily encounter costs that will prove too great to pay is precisely the attitude that is all too prevalent in the study of community politics today.

One example of the existence of such attitudes in studies of community politics today has to do with a question which is involved in the "pluralist-power elitist" controversy already mentioned: What proportion of a community's population must be interested and actively participating in community decision-making before that community can be considered "democratic"? In brief, many pluralists take the position that only a small minority, the active political stratum, need be heavily involved in community politics to secure the operation of mechanisms which maintain a democratic political system, assuming the continued existence of certain social and economic processes (such as an extensive system of public education that produces a minimal consensus on the desirability of maintaining such features of democracy as free elections, etc.). A major part of the power elitists' reply to this position is semantic, although in this, as in many other controversies, semantic argument frequently overlays value conflicts. Pointing both to the pluralists' and to their own findings that relatively small minorities of adult citizens actively participate in community decision-making, apart from the question of whether such participation is of a general or specialized character, they conclude that many communities are undemocratic because democracy, operationally defined, does *and should* require more massive citizen participation in both electoral and nonelectoral decision-making.

Apart from the interesting question as to the most useful ways of operationally defining "democracy," the pluralist position seems to rest on the following kinds of notions about the nature of man and the nature of human groups.[12] Starting with an institutional kind of conception of communities, pluralists argue that men vary in the extent to which they develop into political or civic men. Not all men are deeply and equally concerned with governmental affairs, just as all men are not equally and deeply concerned with family life. All men may be born with a sex need just as all men may be born with a need for companionship and civic participation, but these kinds of universal equalities are trivial because these needs are subsequently shaped in social-civic-political settings such that inequalities, differences, and variations loom larger and larger as men mature. By a relatively early age, in fact, people vary considerably in the need they feel to participate actively in the institutional sectors identified by the socio-psychological symbols in their community as "governmental." To this may be added the conception of complex communities as networks of lesser groups, organizations, and associations. In this view, in both these smaller group settings and the larger community setting, a natural law operates to produce, at any moment in time, inactive majorities and active minorities, however changeable may be the membership to such categories over the short- or long-run. Other conditions assumed to be inherent in the nature of modern urban industrial communities reinforce those kinds of additional forces making for minimal participation.

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[12] The question of defining democracy is considered at length in Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert Swanson, *The Rulers and the Ruled* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), Chapter III.

To insist, so goes this kind of thinking, that democracy be a category reserved for communities that have a majority of adults interested in actively participating in governmental affairs would be to make democracy useless as an analytic category for students of comparative community politics because so few, if any, such cases usually exist. A variety of questions may be addressed to this conservative defense of the *status quo* which has witnessed analysts of community politics engaged with others in urging a revision of democratic theory to make it consistent with their conceptions and apparently supportive findings concerning the small proportions of people who ordinarily participate in politics. One question that deserves to be posed by someone who neither likes minority participation in decision-making nor is convinced that it is an inevitable state of affairs is whether these findings reveal any variations in the proportions of citizens who are in the active political stratum from community to community. It is possible that the methods used to assess that proportion have been insufficiently precise to answer such a question, and if so, better methods need to be developed and exploited with a view to heightening precision in this respect. If, as I suspect, there still turn out to be variations, we need to ask what are the conditions which produce such variations as well as what are the consequences of such variations for a host of variables which may be regarded as being important by community theory-builders, without having to feel that the weight of authoritative academic doctrine makes such questions useless.[13]

Another question that needs to be asked is whether there are alternative ways of conceiving of the nature of man's community political world besides the traditional institutional conception of local government and politics. The answer to this is affirmative, although exactly what these alternative ways will prove to be is still not clear.[14] If the community and its many institutions, rather than the governmental or political system as traditionally defined, were taken as the focus of attention, a persuasive case could be made for man being by nature a political or civic or communal animal.[15] Active participation in peer, occupational, family, and other social groupings would prove to be a pervasive phenomenon of community life. Whatever tendency is found for members of the active minority in governmentally oriented associations or interest groups also to be members of the active minority in voluntary civic associations of the other kinds usually investigated by community politics analysts, the inferences drawn therefrom about the nature of man and the nature of modern community life might need sharp revision if active participation in family life be included in the focus of analytic and empirical investigations.[16]

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[13] Such questions are addressed in a way that is rare by John Roche, "The Curbing of the Militant Majority," *The Reporter*, XXIX (July 18, 1963), pp. 34-38.

[14] Thomas J. Anton takes the affirmative position, whereas Robert A. Dahl disagrees. See "Letters to the Editor," *Administrative Science Quarterly* (September, 1963), pp. 250-268.

[15] James Reichley makes just such a persuasive case in *The Art of Government* (New York: The Fund for the Republic, Inc., 1959). He takes the opposite position when he uses the more traditional, institutional conception of politics. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-128.

[16] The family is conceived as a political system in an interesting way in Robert S. Cahill, "Television in Family Politics: A Study of the Family as a Political System" (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oregon, 1962).

What might happen to the main tendencies in democratic thought if the focus of attention were shifted from an institutional kind of conception of public education, and the processes of civic and political education therein, to a broader conception of education as a complex of institutional processes to be found not only in schools but also in families, the mass media, the churches, the corporation and the union, and other settings? One reason for such a suggestion is not simply to build more general or comprehensive theory of community and human behavior but to re-orient theory-building to problems that concern us as holders of political values, ideals, and utopian images. If the quality of life in the community, whether city or nation, is of concern to us, and the quality of life refers to human characteristics or relationships that may be manifested in and shaped by a host of institutional phenomena, we ought to let our concern with that quality of life lead us to develop more useful models of men, of relationships between and among men, and of communities. More useful models would not have to be bound to traditional institutional conceptions simply because these happen to be the ones that society and our disciplines have bequeathed to us.

Schools of education are clear and typical examples of the specialization that follows from symbolic differentiations among institutional areas in human life. Such schools share many of the unwritten rules of modern differentiation by institutional area, particularly in the United States, but in other countries as well. One of these current rules seems to be that the relationship of education to the economy, the latter defined in terms of the production, distribution, and consumption of *material* goods and services, shall be that of servant to master, agent to principal, or producer to customer wherein the former services the latter in a passive kind of way: responsive to demands, orders, or commands but substantially prohibited from participating actively in deciding what the end-products or even the kinds and amounts of resource inputs of the economy shall be. In recent years the impacts of changes in the scope of education upon such matters as economic productivity, and the probable impacts of failures to change the scope of education in the light of such phenomena as automation of the economy's productive processes, are being increasingly recognized by economic theorists. There is still too little systematic investigation of the possible impacts that the scope and character of public education during the past decades have had on the growth of the massive problems which are characteristic of American cities: segregation and racial hostility; juvenile delinquency and adult crime; passive immobility on the part of the poor and a flight to the deadening suburb on the part of the well-to-do; and a host of other less than ideal conditions of life in 20th century urban America. I realize that I can be charged with being preoccupied with the bad and with failing to appreciate the good. However, there is a need to point to the failures of American education and community life in some way other than merely an appeal to return to presumably efficacious ways of teaching Johnny to read (on the simple-minded assumption that such would solve our social problems) or a balanced listing of pro's and con's the consequence of which is a kind of thoughtless satisfaction or apathy vis-à-vis the current state of affairs.

The feeling that the operations of schools of education actually contribute to social problems has led such critics as Dr. Conant to propose a fundamental reorganization of teacher-training throughout the United States. Such critics fail, in the first place, to recognize that the spirit of laissez faire in an industry marked by product differentiation may lead to monopolistic competition and that teachers produced by different firms may not turn out to be products of equal quality or of identical characteristics and, therefore, not perfect substitutes one for another as required for the maintenance of a competitive industry. They also fail to recognize that in order to capture larger shares of a market, various producers may cut their costs of production, thereby producing, in the instant case, teachers who have been inadequately trained. Such teachers may well be satisfactory products for those school boards who are not particularly concerned with improving the quality of their local educational systems (a possibility that only the naive or romantic optimist would not credit as real). No matter how much criticism needs to be levied against state- and professionally-controlled programs of accreditation and requirements for teacher-training and against the operations of schools of education in those processes (and I think such criticisms to be generally well deserved), still we should beware of proposals which argue that appropriate standards can be maintained by the creation of a kind of consumers council. We would be wary in the light of experiences with the Federal Communications Commission and the television industry or with Consumers Union and the material products of industry. Experience has taught us that advertising, fancy packaging, and the like may prove to be substitutes for product-improvement in a market situation of monopolistic competition.

The major criticism of such proposals for change is that the critics seem to dwell on the asserted problem-producing consequences of the current ways and means of producing teachers and administrators without considering, or actually rejecting, the possible roles that the educational profession and the professional schools of educational administration might play in diagnosing and prescribing innovative, and hence "radical," solutions for some of our major social, economic, and political problems. Leading professional educators are putting themselves squarely on the conservative side in regard to the solution of the priority race relations problems of the United States as these exist in our biggest cities. In curriculum development in schools of education, faculty members of those schools are joining as at least passive partners in the conservative stance which is evident in so much of that writing on the subject of community studies which tries to point up the almost ideal character of American community political systems. In their desire to avoid controversy, to obtain professional success, and to maximize conditions favoring the achievement of their narrowly defined goals, faculties in schools of education are themselves attempting to learn—frequently with success—as well as to teach their students how to work in a more accommodating fashion with the powers-that-be in local educational decision-making arenas.

A PLEA FOR NEW KINDS OF ENTERPRISES AND RISK-TAKING VENTURES

It is from these perspectives that we need to urge professional educators to join with us in a re-examination of their goals and to contribute to a critical examination of our goals as colleagues in joint enterprises. The "we" to which I refer is constituted by those social scientists among us who already share certain dissatisfactions and certain kinds of political values—however ambiguous, amorphous, and internally contradictory these may be at the moment—and who are committed, furthermore, to the pursuit of a kind of knowledge about community politics and educational decision-making which is infused with a sense of purpose such as can only be achieved under conditions of conscious commitment to a set of socio-political values. By "joint enterprises" I refer to the collaborative research designs that are needed to conduct optimum kinds of systematic comparative studies requisite to the further development of a valid and reliable theory of political systems, with such special attention to education as many believe that subject deserves.

Participation in various stages of the development of such joint research-theory enterprises by specialists in education (whether they are in schools of education or practicing their trade outside of the halls of academia) is absolutely essential. The clarification of values and goals, the development of models of man and of men, and the construction of preliminary theoretical notions about community dynamics—all these need to be done by social scientists in concert with those who already have some specialized knowledge about institutions of education, however formal or customary their institutional definitions may be.

Ultimately, it is to be hoped, social scientists will themselves have such knowledge, just as specialists in "education" will have social science skills which will help to break down the role specialization that currently exists. I am as dubious about the proposition that such role specialization is inherent in the nature of the modern complex world as I am about the proposition that systems of education cannot be consciously and purposefully shaped to provide the kinds of political education that would foster much larger active political minorities, if not active political majorities, than those which now seem to characterize many American communities, even under a traditional institutional definition of the "political."

The appeal which I am making, of course, amounts to a plea for a commitment to the heroic on the part of our professional brethren in the field of education, a commitment, in short, to run even greater personal risks than we social scientists are going to have to run. Schools of education, both public and private, are subject to influences that will probably resist forcefully any transition from a passive to an active social critic role, whether in the form of pamphleteering or of participation in research projects. Professional advancement may be seriously at stake for those who advocate what may appear to superiors to be silly or even more seriously incorrect goals for their staff members. An even more likely impediment to professional success is the lack of research publications which may be a consequence of engaging in the kinds of long-term research planning and development that we are proposing. It is perhaps easier for social scientists to continue to publish the necessary numbers of research articles while engaging in extended thought and discussion than it is for faculties in schools of education. Whether this is correct or not, and I do not envisage a complete absence of research in such a joint enterprise, we need to be aware of the difficulties ahead for our colleagues, in whatever disciplines, who decide to cast in their lot with us in pursuit of value-oriented theory and research in the study of community political systems.

A CONCLUDING NOTE OF OPTIMISM

We are also aware of the lack of academic settings which are receptive to the kinds of group ventures we have in mind. Hans Morgenthau discusses why a political science that is morally committed is bound to find a certain lack of receptivity on the part of the sectors of society which it threatens.[17] Apart from the recent status accorded social scientists and "educationists" by an angry Far Right, positive resistances are predictable from within academia itself. In many American universities, fears for the prerogatives of particular social science departments and professional schools have led to the construction of many iron curtains which stand in the way of the kinds of collaboration among people with diverse technical and intellectual backgrounds that must be regarded as vital for the cooperative ventures which I have been proposing. Others who regard themselves as humanists, as defenders of the liberal tradition, as great thinkers working on the grand problems of this and every other age look with disdain upon "the quantifiers," "the machine-runners," "the methodologists" (if, indeed, they notice them at all). The existence of small havens where great men discuss great ideas and occasionally commission a solitary individual to study a city, a national social process, or a world problem is in no sense the model which we need to follow.

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[17] Morgenthau, *op. cit.*

Our basic faith should be that the kinds of questions which need to be asked, the kinds of models which need to be built, the kinds of value-oriented investigations which need to be undertaken cannot be asked, built, or initiated without the kind of wedding of theory and methods which has become possible only in the modern age of social science. To be unaware of "methodology" means to be deficient in theory; these two aspects of social inquiry must grow together if they are to grow at all. For the individual to begin to clarify his own values, he not only needs time to think and talk with others, but he and they, both individually and sometimes collectively, need to move back and forth between those experiences which are involved in systematic field research and those which are associated with more leisurely, reflective, and innovative theory-building. In the competition for scarce resources in an affluent society, it is doubtful that efforts to create the kinds of centers we have in mind will be met by many offers of active assistance from those who have other faiths. It may be that an accidental event will offer the kind of supportive academic-intellectual setting envisaged, that a university or college here or abroad may—for whatever reasons—be willing to fund such an expensive undertaking. In all probability it will follow upon a publication that strikes the fancy of a patron of one or another institutional character. That it will happen ultimately is as close to a certainty as the modern world permits.

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